

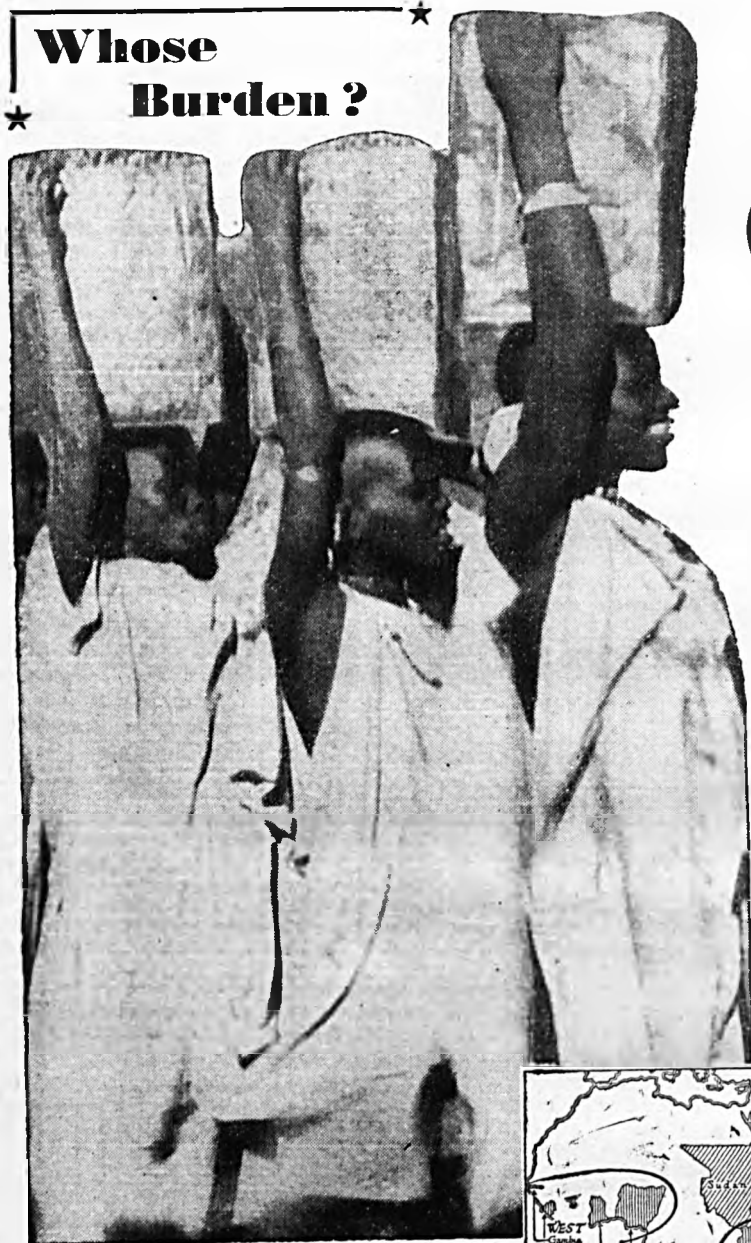
PEACE NEWS

No. 131.

LONDON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1938.

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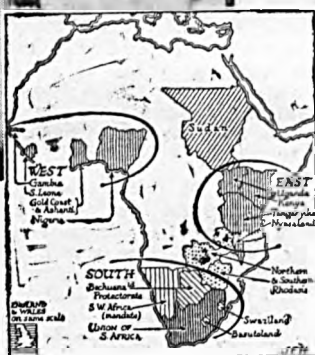
Whose Burden ?



Germany's demand for the return of her former colonies, the need for outlets for Jewish emigration, and the flare-up between Italy and France over Tunis have focused attention on the urgency of the Colonial problem.

As Wilfred Wellock shows in the adjacent article, if the problem is not solved soon along the right lines a major disaster will be inevitable.

The real issue is whether "backward" peoples are to remain subject to exploitation by highly-developed, competing Western Powers, or whether a solution can be devised which will give them economic and political liberty as well as assuring all industrial nations legitimate access to necessary raw materials on equal terms.



Map reproduced from *An Atlas of Current Affairs*, by J. F. Horrabin (Gollancz).

Must the natives—typified by the picture of Nigerian women on the left—remain pawns? Should politicians aim only at a redistribution of possessions? (See Britain's in Africa on the map.)

Read the facts and judge for yourself!

John Scanlon

whose recent book, "Very Foreign Affairs," has attracted wide attention, writes on:

ON OTHER PAGES

R. H. Ward on "Community"	5
Capt. Philip Mumford on Politics	5
1916 C.O.s' Replies	6
Speaking Personally	9

The Economics Behind Germany's Claims

IN doing some research work for a recent book I was continually struck by the clear evidence that the political and newspaper shoutings invariably followed an economic quarrel for markets.

When Germany tried to carry through a trade agreement with Russia in 1822, M. Poincare said "No." When the Polish Premier in 1927 tried to get friendly trading relations with Germany, France again said, "No." When Germany wanted a Customs Union with Austria, France and Italy said "No," whilst Britain proposed that the matter be referred to The Hague.

It was not Herr Hitler alone who believed that there would be no economic justice for Germany until she was strong enough to enforce it. Turn to the 1930 report of the Socialist International Conference and there you will find the direct proposal is made by the delegates for the German Social Democrat Party that Germany should have equality of arms.

Socialists and Pacifists may wonder why German Social Democrats should have wished to burden their people with the cost of armaments in addition to reparations. The answer is that the German

Social Democrats were part of the Governmental system which was trying to run German Capitalism as efficiently as we try to run British Capitalism.

They saw their workers unemployed and rightly or wrongly attributed this, not to any defect in the social system, but to the unfair trade tactics of Britain and France. They believed what their industrialists told them, and a study of Germany's trade magazines reveals what they were being told.

Here is a sample, quoted in the *Daily Telegraph*—

"The German economic periodical, the *Wirtschaftsring*, in its current issue, accuses Britain of attempting to throttle Germany's trade with Eastern Europe and of encircling her in economic fields.

"Britain's purchases of Rumanian corn, 'for which she has suddenly developed such a passion,' remarks the journal sarcastically, were made for two reasons. First, she wished to cut Germany off from the Balkans, and secondly to reduce the amount of corn available in Central Europe in the event of war.

"Not content with ruling a quarter of the globe, it is stated, Britain wants to acquire the trade of other countries. The economic stranglehold of Germany has been attempted through

(Continued on back page)

To Hold—or to Share ?

Colonies Question That Must Be Faced Now

By WILFRED WELLOCK

THE colonial problem is looming larger and larger on the political horizon. Germany's demand for the return of her colonies, and the growing demand for Jewish settlement in colonial territories are converting this issue into one of supreme urgency and importance.

The problem is beset with grave difficulties which demand most careful inquiry and consideration. Unless the right steps are taken at this stage, tendencies of a most dangerous nature will be strengthened, which may lead to large-scale disaster. That is particularly the case with respect to Africa.

Struggle in Africa

In Africa at the present time a great struggle is in progress between two diametrically opposed policies, and everything is being done to hide the facts from the British public.

The issue is whether Africa is to be primarily a black man's country, governed in the main by the native races along their own lines, or whether it is to be governed, and its people exploited, by a small minority of Europeans, supported by the military forces of the European countries involved, thereby superimposing an apex of white civilization upon a broad base of black "civilization" subordinate to the white minority.

In the Union of South Africa a considerable advance has been made in this direction, with the result that even now it would appear that there is little prospect of the natives ever being able to pass beyond a very limited level of development. But it is not without significance that in the British areas which approximate geographically to the Union, there is a noticeable approximation to the South African policy.

★

UNFORTUNATELY European contact with Africa has been vitiated by four centuries of traffic in slaves.

Somehow Europe cannot get away from the idea that Africa—from the human scarcely less than the physical standpoint—exists in order to be exploited by it. And of course it is a great temptation to exploit cheap labour and to desire to keep it cheap. But in that temptation lie dangers of a most serious character, as the public is just beginning to discover.

The official British policy in Africa is known as that of the "sacred trust," by which Britain declares that the interests of the natives are "paramount" over all other interests, and accepts the duty and responsibility of educating and assisting the development of, and advancing self-government among, the native races. But in practice the principle of the "sacred trust" is often lost sight of, and in many cases openly repudiated. The official policy is laid down in the White Paper of 1923 in these words:

"The interests of the African natives must be paramount, and if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail."

Settlers' Views

Despite that ruling, however, the view of most white settlers in British Central and East Africa is expressed in the Command Paper 3731 (1930) as follows:

"British colonists do not regard native policy and administration in East Africa as 'one of the most important matters if not the most important matters dealt with in the Report.' . . . They hold that the British Empire is primarily concerned with the furtherance of the interests of British subjects of British race and only thereafter with other British subjects, protected races. . . ."

Those two statements explain the differences in administration which obtain in different parts of British Africa today. In areas where white settlers are in larger numbers, the tendency is for the policy of the "sacred trust" to be a dead letter, and for the native to be increasingly thrust into a condition of servility that is alien to his nature, and against which he secretly if not openly rebels. This tendency is very strong in areas where the Governor happens to be weak, or to be in sympathy with the Europeans.

But where the white settlers are in smaller numbers, or where the Governors are strong, believe in and are determined to carry out the official policy, the natives advance rapidly in every direction, are abundantly satisfied with their lot, and indeed freely express their gratitude for the assistance that is given them. Lord Lugard in West Africa, and Sir Donald Cameron in Tanganyika, e.g., are past Governors of this latter type.

★

THUS if we take East Africa as an illustration, we have in the adjacent territories of Kenya and Tanganyika (a former

(Continued on back page)

Sir Stafford Calls for new World Conference

"I SHOULD like to be able to go to a great international conference, and lay on the table an offer from Great Britain to throw in everything we have in the world if other countries would do the same, to welcome any countries prepared to come in on that basis, for the colonial territories to come in under international control until such time as they either desire or are fit to govern themselves and then come in themselves.

"Once launch the world on that task and you turn its mind away from the horror and tragedy of war. There is no hope in rearmament."

—Sir Stafford Cripps, speaking in Cornwall.



THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT : : By James Hudson

Colonies—The Pacifist Challenge

Industrial Conscription

A By-Election Lesson

ON Wednesday of last week, Mr. Noel Baker initiated a debate on colonial territories and their use in the interest of the native peoples and for the equal opportunity of all Powers signing a general peace settlement.

The subsequent course of the debate proved that the above was really what members in every party wanted to talk about.

An admirable prologue had been provided during the previous week by the *Daily Herald*. In a leading article it had urged that irrespective of our criticism of others we should hasten to put our own house in order and the British Empire above reproach. To say "No" to the demand for colonies, said the *Herald*, was no policy at all, even though repeated a million times.

But Mr. Baker was not taking this cue until he had relieved his pent-up emotions about the wickedness of the Nazis. Through nine columns of *Hansard* he thoroughly enjoyed himself in vilification of Hitler and "Hanging Peters," and the oppressors of the Confessional Church, and a good many other German scoundrels whom he was able to bring to mind.

Colonies, anyhow, would be no solution, said Mr. Baker, for the housing of surplus Germans. It was not clear whether he wanted the Labour front-benchers to believe that. They, at any rate, had been exhorting the Government to use the empty spaces of our Empire for the refugees.

Then Mr. Baker got down to the job of what he called "militarist imperialism." But it all goes into three columns of *Hansard*. Subsequent speakers, much more genuinely concerned to speak about the subject matter of the motion than Mr. Baker himself seemed to be, complained of the lack of guidance from him in the matter of what ought to constitute "a general peace settlement."

At that, poor Mr. Baker, who had forgotten the measuring rod that *Hansard* would provide, blandly informed the House he hadn't had the time to make all the points he wanted to make.

Mr. Lansbury's Challenge

THE debate, however, provided a great opening for Mr. Lansbury and splendid use he made of it.

Mr. Lansbury challenged the view that the British showed any self-denial in the way they managed their possessions. Quoting the late Lord Brentford, he said we did not go into India to make people Christians but to make money.

He referred to a letter which Dick Sheppard, Lord Ponsonby, and himself had written to *The Times*. Therein they had recalled No. 5 of President Wilson's Fourteen Points which everybody now except the Germans wanted to forget.

"A free, open-minded, absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims" was the language of the fifth point.

As Dick Sheppard and the others had said in *The Times*, this meant the abandonment of the national ownership of colonies, and the establishment of an international colonial service. Mr. Lansbury added the further view that colonial problems could not be met by national mandates, as they had been advocated by Mr. Baker.

The refugee problem would have been much easier to solve if there had been an international authority with an over-sight of all the territories that individual nations now sought to hug to themselves for their own uses. The refugee problem was now a world problem. Unfortunately there was no world authority with the power to tell the refugees where to go.

Mankind, concluded Mr. Lansbury, was calling to all governments to meet the poverty of gigantic masses of the people by organizing the provision of the necessities that the world could now produce in plenty.

What a breath of cooling sense and kindness!

The upshot of the debate was an announcement by the Government that it was not now considering the grant of colonies to Germany as an issue of practical politics. Mr. Amery plaintively asked what did that little word "now" mean. Still, the House seemed reassured. I wonder if they really were.

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THE rather nebulous explanations given by Sir John Anderson about his register for national service carried little conviction. The Labour Party and the TUC still remain worried about the "contractual obligations" of the registered "volunteers."

They are not all sure what the rank and file in the workshops will have to say when Sir Auckland Geddes gets on the job. Sir Auckland has declared in the *Observer*: If war comes and we can achieve our ends by voluntary enrolment, so much the better, "but if compulsion prove to be necessary here I would not hesitate to use it."

The rank and file had a lot to say in the last war about the machinations of Sir Auckland and Lord Derby to effect compulsion. In the workshops order was preserved only by the fear of what conscription and the war itself might involve the workers in.

But, if there is no actual state of war and no over-riding threat of military conscription for those who do not toe the line in the factories, Sir John will have his job cut out in preserving sweetness of mind among the industrial "volunteers." So also will the Labour leaders. For the present, therefore, what Mr. Arthur Greenwood described as "hazy understanding" seems preferable to clear definition.

All the same, I have the impression, as I watch Members' goings and comings, amidst their party meetings and committee confabulations, that most of them are moving about on tip-toe as if they wonder whether or when they are going to be found out by the electorate.

More Views on National Service

How Many Objectors? Refuse to Enrol World-Wide Allegiance

THE article published on November 19 on the attitude of pacifists to the National Register was admirable, but I think one statement should be qualified. It was stated: "In 1917 fifty men were sentenced to death, and in the next war thousands will be sentenced and reprieve will not be likely." (Incidentally I believe all those fifty men were reprieved, and if this is so I think it should have been mentioned.)

The whole matter of the treatment of pacifists in any future war will depend entirely on the strength of the pacifist movement. It is, of course, our hope that it will eventually achieve sufficient strength to prevent any war, and it has been contended that half a million declared objectors would force any government to keep out of war.

We are far off that figure as yet, but every pacifist added to our number is an influence in that direction, and an influence also against extreme measures being used against pacifists if war should come. The whole matter rests entirely with ourselves.

One of our great difficulties in the post-war years has been to demonstrate our strength in peace time in such a way as to be effective to prevent war, and it is probable that our movement will be able to use the National Register very effectively to this end.

If every pacifist will state quite clearly that he will undertake no war service, and will do no work which will release others for war service, it will provide an opportunity, never available before, of presenting the full strength of the pacifist challenge in the right quarter.

EVERALD WESTOVER.
"Littlebury," Sandon Lane, Buntingford, Herts.

HAS the aeroplane ended war? Yes. If we cannot find some adequate defence against it. No, if the civilians agree to adapt and accustom themselves to warfare over their own homes.

War, which long since should have ended itself by its bestiality and cruelty, is once again at a crisis. Perhaps for the first time in history, a major war was momentarily and universally unthinkable, because of the destructive power of its new weapon, the bomber.

It is not our duty as pacifists, nor as patriots, to make war possible again, by joining any section of National Service, which is an essential branch of the Defence Services. Never before was it so true that if we prepare for war, we shall get war; and conversely, if we refuse to prepare, we shall not get war. (I agree we shall not necessarily get peace by unpreparedness, but when war is renounced we shall, for the first time, get the conditions of building up a peace technique.)

Gradually new sources of "man power" have been drawn upon by modern States, and the last war brought Indians, Chinese, Arabs, Moors and Negroes into the White Man's battle line, whilst women of all the belligerent were in munition factories and auxiliary military units. Next

ONE cheerful soul, however, seems not troubled at all about considerations of this sort. He is the newest of them all, Mr. Vernon Bartlett. Perhaps it is because he is so new that he seems not to be bothered like the rest.

It was surely a master-piece in the way of maiden speeches that Mr. Bartlett delivered. It takes more than an ordinary hardihood to fight a by-election as a candidate of the "Peace" Front and then come down to the House in order to tell it almost in the first breath that there is nothing wrong about conscription for democrats. Nay more, it might be a jolly good thing for democrats to adopt it here and now in order to let the dictators on the continent know what was coming to them.

The Tory die-hards seem to want conscription because they have at least some idea about using it for the purpose of defence. But it was left for this new MP from Bridgwater, full of beans about peace, and so on, to devise a parliamentary justification for conscription on the ground that it was an improved way of saying "Yah!" to Hitler.

After that, Mr. Bartlett was all for free speech as the "foundation of our national greatness." Conscripts, we are left to assume, are, of course, such fine exemplars and exponents of free speech—particularly when the Sergeant Major is about. Not on your life!

time, willy-nilly, women and babies, the aged, the sick, will be involved.

Logically, if women and civilians make bullets and bombs, they should not be immune from them. But although we have gone so far on the road to perdition, we can refuse to take the next logical and final step, and push our families and society into hell.

The greatest disservice we can render today to our King and Country and the human race is to take part in a policy of national defence, which might better be called a scheme for national disservice. Our greatest service to God and man is to keep unbridged that enormous and probably unbridgeable gap between aerial offence and defence of our homesteads. We know that when we civilians agree to burrow in the ground like rats to hide from the bomber, the bombs will begin to fall—and not until we can be so persuaded will war again become possible.

Therefore, we will not for one moment consider how war may be made tolerable for our civil population. For, remember, there must be civilian cooperation if it is to be made possible again. We won't adapt ourselves to the new menace from the air! We won't enrol for any sort of human disservice.

FRANK R. HANCOCK.
Craig View, Cwmoy, Abergavenny, Mon.

MANY thousands will have reason to be grateful for the splendid lead you have taken concerning National Service. It is inspiring for out-and-out pacifists like myself and should be a source of strength to those as yet uncertain of the way.

Love for one's enemies being a fundamental concept of the Christian ethic, for the most part neglected, it is well for the pacifist to consider just where his "enemy" lies. May I suggest that in their daily conversation, lectures, or correspondence, pacifists should stress first and foremost the principle of the one great international brotherhood of man, irrespective of race or creed.

Once people get this into their heads, I believe reaction to militarism will inevitably follow. If one percent of the British people pledged themselves to take up the cross and suffer imprisonment or death if necessary for such an ideal, we would change the whole course of history.

BRUCE H. BRAY.
Beeding, Sussex.

WE should like to say how much we admired Jack Hoyland's splendid article in *Peace News*, November 26.

Unlike some of the correspondents in December 9 issue, we fail to see that because we are pacifists we should forthwith cease to do anything for the community in which we live. We think that some of them have completely misunderstood the article and should read it again. We feel sure that the writer of the article has no intention of doing his work of helping his fellowmen with the object of getting exemption from Government conscription, military or

MR. BARTLETT'S electrifying use of his victory for "peace" makes one wonder what the Duchess of Atholl will do with hers if she secures it. In a way she is already quite frank about it.

She explained at Dunkeld that her great aim had been to wipe out the differences between the parties. This, she said, was not because she saw peace coming. Her own words will best express her aim:

I have refrained from any criticism of Liberals and Socialists advisedly because I was so anxious not to do anything that might accentuate the differences between the parties. I felt acutely the possibility of war in the last three years and did not wish to make it difficult for the parties to cooperate if an emergency arose.

If we are to have a candidate at a by-election who will run for a world conference and the subjugation of national and imperial interests to the needs of all, he ought not to come jumping in at the last minute. It is a matter for matured policy and careful preparation. Some day, and soon, there must and will be such a candidate.

Some clearer vision on this and kindred subjects may be found for us at the conference of representative pacifists to be held at the House of Commons, in Committee Room 10, at 6 p.m. next Tuesday.

otherwise. Perhaps some of the correspondents are unaware that Jack Hoyland has been doing service for men in many countries in Europe and beyond for many years past, and has not just started a "national" scheme in order to further the Government's war preparations.

A distinction should be made between work done under the State, either directly or indirectly, and what Jack Hoyland terms Community Service work.

A. D. COLES,
H. M. COLES.
Harrowden Vicarage, Wellingborough, Northants.

MOST of the criticism of Hoyland's scheme for service seems due to misunderstanding. It falls under two heads.

(a) That it is national and not international, and prompted by patriotism, not pacifism.

Now even the head line, which I suspect was yours, sir, and not Hoyland's, does not say that all national service is community service, but that community service is national service. It is simply true that community service, or service to the world, is among other things a service to our country. Many of Hoyland's work-camps have been abroad; but even if the service must be in England, it is still a service to pacifism, for if we can establish a better social order in England, then Englishmen, being no longer in fear of unemployment and poverty, will be more reasonable toward the international problems of refugees, colonies, and trade.

Whether a pacifist ought to love his country is a different matter. In fact, many of them do, myself among them; and to them Hoyland suggests a better way to help it than soldiering or ARP. Surely this is not only innocuous, but also laudable.

(b) That it is only to be done when a war is immediately threatened or in progress. On the contrary, a war would probably stop it; which is the more reason starting now, if it had not been going on for eight years.

Happily then, George Barber has no real disagreement with Hoyland; nor, I believe, have W. Hayden and H. F. Hutchinson.

[Their letters appeared last week.—Ed.]

H. C. FAY.
10 Bainbridge Road, Sedburgh, Yorks.

(Other Letters—page 4.)

From the Editor's Notebook

Owing to extreme pressure on space this feature is unavoidably omitted from this issue.

BETTER THAN BOMBING! MENDING, NOT ENDING!

The "JOY" LOOM

Awarded International Silver Medal

A miniature Loom, the "JOY" LOOM weaves dawns of every kind—Hosiery, Linen and Fancy-work—without eyestrain. The needle carries the threads through a run-way—shuttlewise, thus obviating the tedious over and under method. The "JOY" LOOM has countless possibilities, as it can weave belts, bags, &c. An editorial mention of the "JOY" LOOM appeared in the November 17, 1938, issue of the *News Chronicle*.

A Present for Everyone!

Send P.O. for 3s. 9d. to:
Reg. G. Macpherson (P.N.), 14 West Cliffe Mt., Harrogate.

AID FOR ARAB CHILDREN

A project for helping homeless children by "adopting" them into schools has been started by two members of the Society of Friends from the Continent.

One, a German pacifist and a teacher, went to Palestine as a result of a concern in which the Friends' Palestine Committee in London joined. She went there on her own initiative, however, and was wished "God speed" by London Friends.

The other, a Dutch Quaker, is now living in an Arab village just north of Palestine, where he went as the result of personal concern to do active work in the cause of peace.

Nobel Prize Winner Dead

Dr. Christian Lange, former winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, died in Oslo on Sunday.

As a young man Dr. Lange took a strong interest in peace work and during the greater part of his life he devoted himself to international work.

A former secretary-general of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and secretary of the Nobel Committee, Dr. Lange represented Norway at the Disarmament Conference and at the League of Nations.

In 1921 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize together with the Prime Minister of Sweden, Hr. Branting.

German Memorial to English Victims of Blizzard

A memorial has been erected in the Black Forest by the Hitler Youth Movement in memory of the five English Boy Scouts, who in April, 1936, perished in a blizzard while on holiday in the forest.

The memorial, which is near the site of the tragedy, bears the names of the victims and that date of their death, together with the inscription in German and English:

Erected in sympathy by the Hitler Youth to honour the memory of their sports comrades, the English Boy Scouts.

Milk for Spain

The Spanish Youth Foodship Committee has approved an expenditure of £1,000 on a special consignment of milk to be sent to the children of Spain as the first instalment of a Christmas gift from the youth of Great Britain.

The approval was given at a special meeting recently. The secretary reported that food and clothing to the value of just over £200 had been despatched in ten days. All reports indicated that throughout the country youth organizations were straining every nerve to "Send Father Christmas to the children of Spain."

Czechs Could Have Resisted Germany Without War, says Gandhi's Colleague

THE arguments of a Czech who was formerly a pacifist, described by Storm Jameson in *Peace News* on August 20, have been answered by Mahadev Desai, editor of Mr. Gandhi's *Harijan*.

Storm Jameson had described how the Czech had said he knew that war was sin, that there was nothing about it which was good, or heroic, or excusable, but "if my country must fight, I shall fight. I shall fall into this sin, knowing that it is a sin."

THE DILEMMA

"Shall I submit myself, I with my few pacifist comrades?" he had asked. "You see, they are few even if they are thousands. Or shall I run together with all my other friends to defend all that my country had believed and made? And when I look in my mind I know I could not submit. And I know I could not endure a life without freedom."

Mahadev Desai comments that there "is no question, in the case of the non-violence of the brave, of submission to wrong or tyranny, of enduring a life without freedom, of living as slaves. I would invite all pacifists to read, chew and inwardly digest Gandhi's words: *I would not be a passal to any nation or body. I must have absolute independence or perish.* To seek to win with a clash of arms would be pure bravado. Not so if defying the might of one who would deprive me of my independence. I refuse to obey his will and perish unarmed in the attempt. In so doing though I lose

American Demand for New World Conference

THE prompt calling by the President of the United States, in collaboration with the heads of other governments, of a world-wide disarmament and economic conference heads the ten-point programme of action adopted by the American National Council for the Prevention of War.

The Council declares that the immediate calling of such a conference is of vital importance for two reasons:

1. That the impulse toward a world settlement generated by the recent crisis may not be lost; and

2. That the world may be saved from the disaster of an arms race which is headed toward either internal collapse of social and political systems based upon armament economics or the use of the armaments by blocs of nations against blocs of nations.

Other points in the programme are:

II. To keep America out of war.

III. To defend democracy—by achieving "the supremacy of reason over force."

IV. Relief of Refugees—"We urge Congress and the President to modify immigration laws and appropriate public money so that help can be provided on an adequate scale."

V. Mexico—Government urged "to persist in all its efforts to settle by peaceful means the disputes which have arisen."

VI. Latin America—"Good Neighbour" policy urged. "We deny the right of the United States to seek dominance over the Americas. We deny any right or obligation of our country, for purposes of national defence or prestige, to dictate the immigration, economic, military or other policies of the nations on the American continent."

VII. Philippines—"Under no circumstances should the United States accept continuing responsibility for the defence of the Philippines."

VIII. Military Training—"We continue our unqualified opposition to compulsory military training in all civil educational institutions."

XI. Visit of King George (see panel above).

X. Far East—"We urge the United States Government to aid in bringing about speedy mediation of the terribly destructive war now raging

in the Far East and to cooperate with other nations in the reconstruction of China and the satisfaction of Japan's legitimate needs."

These ten points constitute the Council's education and action programme for the next twelve months.

Canadian Support

A resolution urging the Canadian Government "to take the lead in calling a world conference for the purpose of studying the underlying causes of war, with a view to their removal," was included in the programme of the Remembrance Day celebrations organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and held in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, on Armistice Sunday.

By leaving the resolution open for any society or club to sign, they struck upon a novel idea for furthering the campaign for such a conference.

"SCRAP IRON IS POTENTIAL MURDER"

From Our Own Correspondent

Protests against the shipment of scrap iron to Japan were made at a meeting in San Diego, California, recently.

The first speaker was Dr. Leslie, professor of political science and history at the San Diego State College. He emphasized the fact that what was going on in the East was not war as they had known it in history, but mass murder.

"The tragedy," he said, "is that we permit such greed to manifest itself."

Scrap iron was potential murder. John Sullivan, representing the State College, said that it was such as he who would be the cannon-fodder in the next war. He urged that the American Neutrality Law should be made more effective, and called for an economic boycott against Japan.

Dr. Sherman, a Methodist minister, considered that the trade in arms was not legal.

ROYAL VISIT PLANS: U.S. PROTEST

THE ninth point of the American N.C.P.W. programme of action reads:

"We protest against the announced plans for entertaining the British Emperor, King George, next spring on a war vessel, with a naval review as the so-called 'crowning event' of his visit."

"There is grave danger that this use of his time will be interpreted here and abroad as symbolizing a naval alliance between our two Governments, arousing intense suspicion and criticism among our own people and promoting international ill-will instead of peace."

PEACE NEWS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

CHRISTMAS IN PRISON

Remember Pacifists In Other Lands

LIVING in one of the few countries where military service is not yet compulsory, pacifists in Britain should never forget their comrades in other lands who have gone to prison rather than submit to conscription.

Cards of greetings for Christmas and the New Year can be a source of encouragement and an expression of solidarity with them, and the War Resisters' International, the link between war resisters in every land, has, therefore, supplied the following list of those to whom greetings may be sent (in many countries conditions are too dangerous for names of imprisoned pacifists to be published):

DENMARK

To the men doing alternative service at: Militærnaegterlejren, Gribskov, Maarum, Denmark; and

Militærnaegterlejren, Kompedal Plantage, Engesvang, Denmark, a collective card should be sent. In all about 125 men are serving.

FRANCE

Eugène Lagot (WRI Council Member), Quartier Politique, Prison de la Santé, 42 Rue de la Santé, Paris, 14e.

Louis Loréal (same address).

Pierre Martin, Maison d'Arrêt de Briey (Meurthe-et-Moselle).

Fernand Bernard, Prison d'Evreux, Eure.

Louis Leclerc, Prison de la Santé, 42 rue de la Santé, Paris, 14e.

Raymond Marcand, Cellule 10 B, Maison d'arrêt de Douai, Quinc, Nord.

Victor Léné, Quartier Politique, Prison de la Santé, 42 Rue de la Santé, Paris, 14e.

FRENCH GUIANA

Eliacin Vézian, Poste Restante, St. Laurent-du-Maroni, French Guiana.

HOLLAND

The following are all at Veenhuizen, Ryks-werkinrichting:

Rien van Vlaanderen, Nicolaas Sehouten, Ate Baron, Simon Dekker, Verito Bakker, Remmert Hooyberg, Teun Sibie.

NORWAY

Saamund Straume, Bernt Knutsens vei 25 B, Bekkelagshøgda n. Oslo.

POLAND

Josef Stankunas, recently released, is on his death-bed as a result of tuberculosis contracted in prison. His address is: Wilno, Stowackiego 44 m.10, Poland.

Karol Malysa, Przemysl woj; krowskie, wojls. wiez. sl No. X, Poland.

SPANISH CHILDREN

The WRI also asks pacifists not to forget the 25 refugee Spanish children at the WRI "Home," Prats-de-Mollo (Pyr. Or.), France.

American War Resisters to Celebrate

The fifteenth anniversary dinner of the War Resisters' League will be held in the Hotel Capitol, 8th Avenue, 51st Street, New York City on December 29, commencing at 7.15 p.m.

The subject of the discussion will be "The Pacifist in the World Today," and among the questions that will be considered will be how society should deal with selfish nationalism, blind hate, and a dependence on military force.

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CASE OF ABYSSINIA

"The case of Abyssinia is pertinent. In no case would the material loss of Abyssinia have been greater than it has been, had the Abyssinians refused to take up arms and challenged the Italians to enter Abyssinia by marching over their dead bodies. Whereas the moral gain would have been something incalculable, even if Italy had chosen the ignoble part of occupying a sepulchral but martyred Abyssinia."

"The ignoble peace arranged at Munich affords all pacifists a unique opportunity, if they will seize it, of working out a non-violent technique for the settlement of all conflicts, including armed aggression."

Letters to the Editor

Is Democracy Rule By Majority ? The "Peace" Brought By War

WHETHER HAROLD BING was himself presenting the apparent dilemma involved in attempting to be both a pacifist and a democrat, or whether he was merely demonstrating its presentation as made by Lord Sanderson is, I think, of comparatively little importance.

The really important question, in my opinion, is whether there is a dilemma or not. The answer one gives depends, I consider, on one's view of what democracy means. The view which Harold Bing presents is expressed in his letter of December 9, by the following two statements:

1. The duty of a democrat, certainly in the mind of Lord Sanderson, involves obeying the law once it has been approved by the majority. That is the whole meaning of democracy—government by the majority.

2. Democracy, as at present understood, implies the right of the majority to compel obedience to majority decisions.

In my letter of December 2, I gave my view that under our system of democracy, the rule of the majority was not the whole of democracy, but only part, the complementary part being the respect shown by the majority to the opinions of the minority as demonstrated by the existence of certain freedoms; freedom of speech, associations, &c.

Perhaps it is significant that Harold Bing made no reference to this complementary part of our democratic system. Does he really think that democracy is "at present understood" to be merely majority rule, and to have no relationship with the rights of the minority? And by the phrase "at present understood," does he mean that this view is held by the majority of English people?

I am certainly not in a position to test the accuracy of the numerical part of this statement, but I do wonder what answers would be made by Harold Bing, and those who share the view that the majority rule is the whole of democracy, to the following questions.

Supposing a majority Conservative government passed a law making all other political parties illegal associations, then (1) Would this be a democratic act? (2) Would obedience, with or without compulsion, to this new law, be democratic? (3) Would the resulting system be democratic?

In giving my own answers negatively to each of these questions, I am conscious of a development of my view of democracy, that not only does our democratic system not consist wholly of majority rule, but that the more this part is extended at the expense of the other part, i.e., of the various freedoms, the less democratic does the system become, and vice versa.

Democracy is not a static system. It can become more or less democratic. My test questions involved one of the possible ways in which our system could become less democratic. On the other hand, our English system could become more democratic by giving more and greater freedoms, one of the most important being economic freedom, the lack of which for so many people, makes our democracy far from perfect.

Harold Bing suggests that I considered that the minority was free to pursue a policy in complete opposition to the majority policy. The word "complete" was not used by me, for complete opposition would involve the use of violence when compulsory methods to enforce obedience were applied, and would also involve attempts being made to prevent the law being carried out even by those who were of the majority.

Again I cannot agree that my use of the word "acceptance," in the phrase "acceptance of the law as law," robs it of "all" political significance, even though I agree that this sense of the word "acceptance" is equivalent to a mere recognition of the fact that a proposed law has secured the support of the majority of the Members of Parliament.

I say this because I am of the belief that there are many people who do not get further than this kind of acceptance of a

law, i.e., recognition that it was passed by a majority in parliament. All too many people fail to consider the implications of these laws especially when the laws do not directly impinge on their own lives.

There is another important issue involved, which I think is very relevant to this discussion, an issue which is raised by Harold Bing's use in his statements concerning democracy of the two words "government" and "compel." Government should, I think, carry with it more of responsibility and less of privilege.

If the duty of government is primarily concerned with the attainment of the maximum amount of harmonious working together of individuals for the good of all, then those in the majority who form the governing body would, in making its laws, consider the opinions of the minority. Instead of stressing their privilege as a majority to compel obedience by bringing into play all the forceful methods at their disposal, they would, on the contrary make obedience on the part of the minority as easy of fulfilment as possible.

I think many people would agree with me that the more use which had to be made of forceful methods to compel obedience to laws, the less democratic those laws must be.

And so, with my ideas of democracy and of Government, I am led to the conclusion, which I will repeat, that to be a good democrat one must be a good pacifist, and to be a good pacifist one must be a good democrat.

This conclusion, I think, is equally true whether the pacifist is acting democratically as part of the government or as one of the governed, because a pacifist should not only refrain from the use of violence, but also from actions on his part which might tend to give rise to violence in others.

DORA HOLDEN

60 Norbury Cross, S.W.16

Cure for Europe's Tension

ON his return from the Continent, Mr. Pirow, South Africa's Minister for Defence, predicted that "unless there is a complete change of outlook within the next month or two, international tension will reach breaking point within the spring of next year."

The question prompts itself: What are the chances of a changed mentality "within the next month or two" in the individuals who are disturbing the peace of Europe? The answer is "nil" if we continue to talk at them when we should be reasoning with each other.

A man finds it unnecessary to arm himself against those who love him. But he is loved because he himself loves. If we are hated it is probably because we ourselves hate, and it is no remedy to arm ourselves to the teeth in anticipation of an attack by our enemies. That will only accentuate our mutual hatred and enmity.

Our clear duty is to ascertain from others in what respect we are failing them, and if they can establish to our satisfaction that we are acting unjustly toward them we should remove that injustice. If, having done so, they continue to agitate and make nuisances of themselves, we shall not be the only ones to perceive their ulterior motives—that their real aim is not to obtain justice so much as to acquire power. Their people, who now support them chiefly because they are echoing their cry for bread, will see through them and know what to do.

For the ordinary men and women of all lands do not want conquest and domination. They just want to live and let others live in peace.

There really is no other way out of the present international tension. We must all of us use our heads and hearts in God's way—the way shown to us by Jesus, Who said nothing worse of his crucifiers than that they knew not what they were doing.

Let us fight against injustice, tyranny and wrong with the only weapon which can lastingly and satisfactorily remove these ugly blemishes on our humanity—that something, call it what you will, which distinguishes us from our friends the lower animals. Other weapons may effectually torture or destroy our bodies, if we are foolish enough to use them—they will never make better men and women of us. And this is our real need—the improvement and possession of ourselves. Some of us are too intent on improving and "civilizing" others, and think we can do it by blasting them into eternity!

It is the lot of everyone of us sooner or later to face eternity. When that moment arrives one thing, and one thing only, will help us—the remembrances that, however rarely and imperfectly, we have at some blessed moments in our lives imparted gladness to others through a good deed or a kind word.

How utterly deplorable and unwise, then, that any of us should so act as to create the misery that evoked the following true comment from Mrs. Pirow as she left England with her husband, whose words inspired this letter: "I am glad to leave London. People here are too sad—apart from the climate. All Europe is like a mad-house with people barking and snarling at each other. It will be a relief to get back to the peace and sanity of Africa."

GUY FANANI.

20 St. Michael's Road, Welling, Kent.

MR. TODD (*Peace News*, December 2), says most of us do not know that war settles nothing. It settles, he contends, what it is intended to settle, that is—who is to dictate the terms of peace.

Unfortunately he omits the words "for a year or two," as these words imply unsettlement and another settlement to come, and in accordance with the terms dictated so long will the so-called peace survive. If these terms do not lead to settlement, they will aggravate unsettlement until war again decides who is to dictate the next truce, and so on and on; but war has settled nothing.

Substitute the word "decides," and Mr. Todd simply contends that war decides who shall dictate the terms of peace. A judge may decide between the cases of two people, but that does not settle their differences—as "public tomato thrower No. 1" can readily testify.

Turning now to Mr. Todd's "problem," it is well to remember that in war both sides are "just" in their own eyes. Remember, too, that the statesmen who are "morally strong" arm and arm, manufacturing implements of massacre. And why? Because if they were beaten, the morally weak would impose a peace which would be as harmful to themselves, the victors, as to the vanquished.

But if the morally strong won, it would be exactly the same, for they would have become moral weaklings like their opponents.

So, whoever won, the morally weak and unjust would impose a peace—as harmful "as Versailles," says Mr. Todd; but I say a peace compared with which Versailles would appear divine, since it is admitted by all, including Hitler, Roosevelt, Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini, that civilization would perish and chaos, disease, famine, destitution, and savagery are all that could survive.

These are the things we are told we must arm to defend: to ensure these we must pay at the nominal sum of a million pounds a day, and endure blather about National

Service and sacrifice for defence. What sort of defence is it that, being used, destroys ourselves and all that we and our forebears have lived for? It is suicide we are preparing for, not defence.

What else can we do but commit suicide? is the gist of Mr. Todd's problem. Let those who have had experience of defeat in conflict with Gandhi answer it. Surely Mr. Todd should address it to the militarists and their dupes.

They are in the dock—self-condemned. Their method has been tried and found wanting. It has been found impracticable on the admission of their leaders who say it would end civilization. Could damnation of their case, their impractical minds and futile ideas of defence go further? Yet they persist in shouting "What else can we do?"

Their leaders know what else they can do, but refuse to tell them. Why?—Because non-violent resistance must inevitably take all power out of the hands of those who maintain their privileged positions of power by force—and they would rather end civilization than lose their power before the end of civilization.

In other words, "If we can't keep it, we'll see that no one else has it." They know that without force the exploitation of mankind by groups must automatically cease: the poor would be as well armed as the rich; might would cease to be right; and the weak would inherit the earth.

But let me tell them the meek shall inherit the earth, even after they have destroyed the work of centuries, and they are making sure that it shall be so by crying like lunatics—"What else can we do but destroy civilization!"

We can refuse to fight, yet refuse to surrender; refuse to obey enemies, as we refuse to obey friends. Show no fear of violence from enemies as we show no fear of violence from friends. Insist on the truth to all men, and thank God we can stand fast and suffer and die sensibly to save the world, instead of standing fast suffering and dying foolishly to destroy it.

And in the meantime we can disarm and disarm again to make sure that it will not be our morally strong statesmen who shall dictate peace—to chaos at the end of civilization.

W. SPARKS.

Hollinwood Road Disley, near Stockport.

Sovietism And Socialism

I WOULD like to thank Mr. Chilver (*Peace News*, November 26) for his suggestion that I should read M. Yvon's book, "What has become of the Russian Revolution?" and to assure him that I shall do so at the first opportunity. It will not be the first anti-Soviet book purporting to tell the "truth" about Russia that I have read.

It seems to me that unless we are fortunate enough to be able to study Soviet conditions for ourselves we must at least make sure, as far as possible, that the personal qualifications of the authors whose books we read, are above reproach, and that the authors themselves have no personal or political axe to grind.

For instance, you cannot reasonably expect impartial adherence to facts from an author like Vladimir de Korostovetz, when you know—as he admits—that he is an unrepentant member of the old dispossessed Ukrainian capitalist class, and whose every other line merely emphasizes the fact in its venom against a regime which he personally hates.

My knowledge of Russia (such as it is) has been gleaned from a number of people personally known to me who have spent some time there, and whose integrity I do not question, from conversation with a young Moscow citizen who was over here on holiday as a reward for a scholarship gained, and finally from books like *Soviet Communism and Modern Russia*, by such reputable authors as the Webbs and Louis Segal, all of whose capacity for fair comment cannot be doubted.

The Webbs are, of course, socialists, but they are Fabians, and by no means communists, while Segal is an economist who tackles his subject purely from the economic angle. Their language, moreover, is restrained, dignified, and convincing—which is more than one can say of most anti-Soviet commentators.

M. Yvon is an obscure name to me. If Mr. Chilver wishes to found his beliefs on M. Yvon's views rather than on those of the authors I have mentioned, that, naturally, is his affair. But I should like to know something of M. Yvon's political ideas, experience, and general background, before I could consider his book seriously.

ALEXANDER C. SPENCE.

22 Milton Road, Highgate, N.6.

WHEN capitalism is abolished in a country; when production is for use and not for profit; when the ownership of the means of production is in the hands of the community, and when its citizens are paid according to the quantity and quality of their work, that country is a socialist country, whatever may be said to the contrary. The Soviet Union is a socialist country, and because it is such a country, and

for no other reason, there is no class struggle, no class antagonism, no conflict between a group which owns the mines, factories, and land, and a group utterly dependent on it for a living.

Under Article 123 of the new Stalin constitution, the equality of the rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of the nationality or race, in all fields of economic, State, cultural, social, and political life is an irrevocable law. DANIEL BRENNER.

Wick, Calthness.

This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.

A Use for Old "Peace News"

You will probably be interested to know that I have received nearly fifty letters in response to my suggestion about passing on old copies of *Peace News*.

There are several things I should like to say to my correspondents collectively, and I hope you can spare a little space in which to put extracts from this letter.

First, to any reader who may not have heard from me ere this goes to press, I crave their forgiveness for the delay, but it takes a little time to get through fifty letters.

Secondly: Owing to the big demand my list of names is temporarily exhausted, but I am tapping new sources and hope to supply the needs of all inquirers in due course.

Some readers expressed their fears about sending to Germany. Their fears are not groundless, as I wrote to the WRI and they told me it was unwise to send pacifist papers to certain European countries, including Germany. However, I suggest that correspondents write a covering letter asking the people concerned if they are running risks in accepting such paper. (Some of my German correspondents have repeatedly asked me for newspapers and periodicals.)

One other point. Will those who wrote to me offering financial help to a certain Austrian Jew in distressed circumstances, who may not have been successful in reaching him, please write to me again, as I have news of his present whereabouts. He is still badly in need of help, though is quite well.

KATHLEEN HOSKIN.

2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall.

Readers on National Service, p.2.

It is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

COMMUNITY

By R. H. WARD

I. Building a New Society Within the Framework of the Old

I AM unwilling to speak at any length of the community in which I myself live: we have existed as a community for a very short time; we are undistinguished; we have nothing to be proud of and, even if we had, I hope we shouldn't wish to advertise either that fact or the fact of our own existence.

Because communal living is, at least for us (and I think must always be), a religious matter, it is also a personal matter; one does not talk about one's relations with one's God (and one's relations with one's fellow men are one's relations with God), if only because they are inexpressible, if only because they are boring to others, if only because, as T. S. Eliot says, "Men learn little from others' experience"; the actual experience of communal living is an intensely personal matter, and not to be spoken of profitably.

Individual Basis

But there are certain imaginative, religious or ethical compulsions which form a basis to the individual's interest in communal living and urge him to practise it; and there are certain added imaginative, religious or ethical discoveries which his practice of communal living realizes for him. Of these, abstract though they are, he may speak or write, since they may possibly serve the purpose of stimulating the imaginations of others and so of leading them to make their own experiments.

But some stress should be laid on the word "individual." No two of us are alike: we come to the idea of communal living from different standpoints dictated by differences in our natures; we envisage the practice of communal life in different terms; it has different effects upon us as persons.

There will, therefore, be some who, as interested as myself in communal living, will disagree with my ideas of it and attempts to practise it. Very well; they are different from me and my way is not theirs. All I ask is that they shall not try to persuade me that their ways are right and mine wrong, or take it that I am trying to persuade them that mine are right and theirs wrong.

It is only that their ways are right for them and wrong for me, while mine is right for me and wrong for them: any failure of understanding at this point, any attempt on my part to put forward my conceptions of communal living as the only tenable ones, is a failure of tolerance, the first requisite of community life.

Changing Society

AS pacifists—and the urge toward community life is not confined to pacifists—we are led, by our refusal to take part in war, to a speculation concerning the provenance of war. Some of us come to see the provenance of war as the existing order of capitalist-imperialist society in which we live; hence we believe that war can only be eliminated by changing the existing order of society.

But society has no entity; it is the reflection of the men and women who compose it, and according as they are, so society is. It can, therefore, only be changed by changed men and women. In other words, peace and social justice cannot be imposed upon society from without; they must evolve from within.

Tower Hill Is Still Held

AT least 700 people were present at the lunch-hour meeting on Tower Hill which was addressed by John Barclay and David Spreckley.

The attention of the audience was drawn to the National Peace Council petition forms and as a result a number of signatures were secured there and then.

But what happened to the *Peace News* sellers? At no time were there any more than three sellers at once and consequently only thirteen copies were sold.

The organizers (City of London group of the Peace Pledge Union) point out that this is not good enough. "We must average six sellers all the time," they say.

Future speakers include:
Dec. 21 Nigel Spottiswoode and Andrew Stewart.
28 Sybil Morrison and Stanley Keble.

The meetings are held from 12.30 p.m. to 2 p.m.

How is this process of evolution to be furthered? How are we to revolutionize society? There are many ways.

One of them is the attempt to place oneself in circumstances in which one will have, as it were, space and opportunity to foster in oneself the values (and the practice compatible with them) which are the basis of a revolutionized self and of a revolutionized society; circumstances in which, in company with others, one can create in the present a unit of the society of the future. The circumstances are those of communal living; the unit created in the present of the society of the future is the community.

★

A DIFFICULTY enters here. It is necessary, when contemplating or carrying out such an experiment in revolution, continually to make comparison between the existing order of society and the order you are trying to build.

The order you are trying to build is,

fundamentally speaking, utterly different from the existing order, the direct antithesis to it; once fall into the belief that you can use the methods of the existing order as means to the end of the proposed order and you have vitiated your experiment; you cannot put new wine into old wineskins.

It looks, then, as if you are of necessity, in a familiar phrase, "to have no truck with" the existing order at all; it looks as if you must turn your back upon it, cut yourself off from it, leave it to stew in its own juice, and that you must make your community entirely independent of it. And that is the difficulty; for that, logical though it seems, is the mistake.

Keep Contact

To my mind it is the mistake of smugness, the mistake of a lack of charity, the mistake of weakness, the mistake of unrealism. I believe that it is the mistake of dualism, understanding God and man as separate and irreconcilable, instead of understanding man as made in the image of God; of understanding the Kingdom of Heaven and the Kingdom of Earth as

separate and irreconcilable, instead of understanding that the Kingdom of Heaven is within you, here on earth, a present reality.

The independent and entirely self-sufficient community looks to me like the distant and unreal world into which a man may (very naturally) wish to flee when he looks upon the horrors, injustices and miseries of this world and of himself. It is a refusal to face the facts, to remain a man among men, to acknowledge that others, however different, may be better than oneself.

It leaves those whom one may consider mistaken to wallow in their mistakenness. It denies the very essence of human relationship, which is contact.

★

SO the community must be built in the world, and the necessary compromises accepted. It is hard to accept compromise, and appears to contradict the basic rule of never putting new wine into old wineskins.

NOTE: This is the first of two parts of a paper read to the second conference of the Community Service Committee recently held at Kingsley Hall, Bow. The second will appear next week.

The New Political Line-Up

WHATEVER our Prime Minister may or may not have done he undoubtedly gave international politics a severe jolt. We shall begin the new year with strange alignments and new-formed alliances.

Unfortunately this jolt has been speedily followed by others. Hitler's last pogrom of the Jews has generated an international atmosphere where reconciliation in its true meaning must of necessity be at least postponed.

Italy's hostility to France and "spontaneous" claims to Nice, Corsica and Tunis have again plucked the taut nerves of Europe and reminded us that in this civilized age international peace may be defined as "a period of cheating between two periods of fighting."

Nevertheless, since the previous situation had led us to the very brink of a pathetic repetition of 1914, we may count any changes as gain and be grateful to Mr. Chamberlain for the precious gift of a few more months—which may still be turned into years—in which to struggle back to some kind of sanity.

Those who remember 1914 recognize incalculable gain for peace and sanity in the behaviour of all the peoples of Europe during the September crisis. War hysteria, mass jubilation, and aggressive jingoism were all conspicuous by their absence, despite a situation in which, by all the rules of the game, they might have been expected to flourish. That is all to the good; but let us face up to the debit side as well.

* * *

WHAT is the meaning of the strange political alignments that have emerged from the crisis? It is, of course, amusing to see Chamberlain, Simon, Hoare, Lansbury, Ponsonby, and Maxton ranged against Lloyd George, Churchill, Eden, Attlee, Pollitt, and Cecil. But what does it mean? Does it not suggest an underlying chaos which challenges the advocates of any smooth and logical path to peace, and that the bitterness between the two factions reveals a cleavage that will take long to heal?

Some, it appears, do the right thing from the wrong motive; others, the wrong thing from the right motive. Chamberlain has "dished the Whigs" with a vengeance and championship of peace for its own sake has passed from the Left to the Right wing of political thought.

This is indeed a bitter pill for those of us, the majority of pacifists, who believe that socialism must be an integral part of any permanent advance in the struggle against war. Yet this fact has to be admitted.

We used to think that the wicked capitalist was the cause of war because he wanted military strife in order to gain more riches; now the majority of Socialists are taunting the wicked capitalist because he refuses to fight in case he should lose his wealth! The Tories, of course, retort that just as they have learned the folly of jingoism the Left wing goes down with a bad attack of the same complaint.

The truth is, of course, that at present at any rate, the Right wing have no illusions about war, the Left, "Collective Security" their unsubstan-

tial battle-cry, believe that war can save them from the Fascism they fear.

* * *

IN this bewildering welter the pacifist view emerges clearly as the only moral and logical approach to the problem. The pacifist, in fact, is the only one who can remain consistent. War is an evil thing; it becomes more and more evil each year and more and more futile—therefore, "War, We Say No!"

To have defended ourselves against Hitler in 1938 would have been "defence" in the sense that we defended ourselves against the Boers in 1900.

For various reasons the Conservatives did not want the Boers to predominate in South Africa forty-odd years ago. Today the Socialists do

By Capt. Philip S. Mumford

not want Hitler to dominate Central Europe and they appear to have learnt as little and forgotten as little as the Bourbons.

Admittedly the aims of the Conservatives were cynical whilst those of the latter are idealistic; one fought for gold—the other wants to fight for "democracy." Nevertheless, the latter is more insidious and harmful.

It mattered little that Britain had to give the gold mines back to South Africa despite a military victory. The damage that democracy would have suffered if a war had been fought on its behalf can easily be imagined by remembering the harm done to freedom by the last war; better to damage gold mines than freedom.

* * *

THOSE who really want peace will have to learn that just being tired of the sort of wars other people used to fight only takes us to some pet war in which we are ready to fight.

Thus men tired of tribal wars and took to religious ones instead; these were followed by dynastic struggles which in turn gave way to the imperialistic and nationalistic struggles ushered in by the French Revolution and ending with the Great War. Let us note with due gravity that each phase was worse than the last—the fighting more bitter, the massacre more general and the pretences subtler.

Today the League of Nations Union, the Liberals and the Labour Party would rally us to the banner of an ideological war—for freedom, for democracy, for the Covenant of the League.

And Mr. Pirow returns from his visits to leading statesmen on the continent and says: "Europe is drifting into war—a war which no nation wants . . . unless there is a complete change of outlook within the next month or two international tension will reach breaking point

during the spring of next year. The tragedy of the situation is that since the settlement of the Czecho-Slovak issue there is no principle at stake which would excuse a war, let alone make it inevitable."

But let us still be grateful to Mr. Chamberlain; he has already postponed one war and, as Bertrand Russell has said, a war postponed may be a war avoided. All the same, I doubt if war can be postponed many years unless the Left Wing makes its ideals practical objectives. Let us hope that Chamberlain and Maxton can hold the fort until the Socialist brotherhood of man becomes a matter of present-day politics.

Price of "Peace" £1,747,500

UP to September £1,747,500 was spent on the Waziristan "pacification" operations. Government casualties during the two years have totalled 291 killed and 851 injured.

Replying to a question in the Assembly, Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, Secretary of the External Affairs Department, said that operations had been successful in "pacifying" the majority of the hostile elements among the Waziristan tribes.

ONE PLANE CAN CARRY 2,000 OF THEM!

Details of the Latest Incendiary Bombs

AT a recent conference in London, called to consider the materials of importance to air raid precautions, Mr. A. R. Astbury, Technical Advisor to the Home Office, gave details of a new incendiary bomb which Home Office experts had studied over a long period.

Made of magnesium, the bomb, he said, was so light and small that one large bomber could carry up to 2,000 and release them from containers ten or twenty at a time. The bomb was not explosive.

Mr. Astbury pointed out that it was expected that bombers might attack in formation, and that the potential fire-raising capacity would be roughly proportional to the size of the formation.

He went on to explain that experimental work had been done on methods of extinguishing the bomb, but it was a subject on which further knowledge was eminently desirable. Proof against impact could be provided, he said, either by quarter-inch mild steel plate, one layer of sandbags packed closely, or four inches of reinforced concrete.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157

Subscription Rates: Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:-

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

The Editor's Point of View

Mr. Chamberlain Queers His Pitch

"It may be that some will once again be speculating upon who is the winner and who the loser in these talks." In those words MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in his broadcast speech on British policy on Tuesday, put his finger on one of the most vital spots in international relations today.

He was referring to his forthcoming talks with SIGNOR MUSSOLINI and COUNT CIANO. But he had made a similar reference, earlier in his speech, to the Munich Agreement. And yet the immediate reaction to the speech itself was nothing more nor less than an expression of the very same spirit.

Addressed, ostensibly to the press correspondents but in effect to the peoples of nearly every country of the world, the speech had been sent in advance to the British and foreign press. The German guests to the dinner which was made the occasion of the speech saw fit to absent themselves because they regarded a phrase deploring the recent attitude of the German press (particularly the pouring of "vituperation" on Lord Baldwin for his appeal on behalf of the Jews) as an attack on Germany and the suggestion that "no form of government ever remains the same" as a blow at nazism.

On the other hand, the opposite attitude (a certain sense of "victory") was expressed in the approving applause of those who attended to hear those passages. Moreover, the greatest applause—loud and prolonged cheering—greeted MR. CHAMBERLAIN's remark that "our relations with France are so close as to pass beyond mere legal obligations"—a remark clearly intended to repair any damage done by his strictly accurate statement in the House of Commons that we were under no treaty obligations to go to France's aid if attacked by Italy, which had been regarded as something of a victory for Italy and defeat for France in Italy's present claims on France. It is significant, too, that the foreign press correspondents (and others at the dinner, including Ambassadors and some British politicians) also expressed approval at the PRIME MINISTER's assertion that our military preparations already enabled us to say with confidence that we were in a position to fulfil treaty obligations.

But if MR. CHAMBERLAIN "stood up to the dictators" on Tuesday night, he was most anxious not to appear to do so in the spirit of victory-or-defeat which has so far characterized most of the demands that he should stand up. Upon that he is to be heartily congratulated, even though, in fact, he could not have been too conspicuously successful.

The refusal of the war method has never had as one of its implications (despite misrepresentations to that effect) a surrender to force—neither to the coercion of a democratic majority that believes in force nor (even more emphatically) to the bullying of a dictatorship. On the contrary, the refusal of the war method is but the negative aspect of a very positive policy of seeking peace and ensuring it—active steps to prevent war by removing its causes and to promote peace by an interpretation of democracy that gives real freedom to all, both within and without the nation, to live a full life. That is the only kind of strength that will successfully stand up to the test (which is actual now) of the cult of dictatorship.

But MR. CHAMBERLAIN spoils (to put it mildly) an otherwise admirable exposition of democracy when he claims that it is compatible with military preparations. Unless such preparations are quickly halted and soon reversed, they are bound to destroy the thing which MR. CHAMBERLAIN claims to love so dearly.

It is not necessarily that such preparations inevitably end in war, though the direct testimony to that effect of the late SIR EDWARD GREY, when he was Foreign Secretary, past experience, and the logic of events themselves all point ominously to that conclusion.

The reason a policy of arms is bound to be fatal to democracy is firstly that it should lead to war, war by its very nature makes democracy impossible in a country that wages it and is an ideal breeding ground for future dictatorships, and secondly that the competitive nature of military preparations among the great Powers makes inevitable, sooner or later, restriction of freedom and even of the necessities of life in the interests of "organizing the nation" and in order to finance the growing burden. We have, of course, already seen the process going on around us, with the national register (still on a voluntary basis) as the latest phase.

Nor is the way of retreat from that burden, which MR. CHAMBERLAIN himself longed for, made easier by such patently childish and transparently unjust excuses as that "we see others accumulating force and making no response to any suggestion for disarmament." Surely the merest child can see that if the accumulation of force by someone else is considered a good and sufficient reason for doing the same, there can be no end to the process but the end of patience and resources—war and ruin. As for disarmament, the Germans may well feel a much greater sense of injustice in the charge than in the mild rebuke to her propaganda, since we made "no response" to HERR HITLER's own offers of disarmament and have not ourselves made "any suggestion for disarmament." Indeed, it was our renewed armament drive on the very morrow of the signature of an agreement solemnly recording our wish never again to go to war with them that started the latest wave of anti-British feeling in Germany.

Pacifists can welcome and endorse much of the PRIME MINISTER's policy statement. It might even have been one of them, instead of he, who said that "our aim should be the happiness of all our peoples and that that happiness can only be attained if we are willing to lay aside suspicion and prejudice, to cease looking for points of differences, and to search instead for points of agreement." That is why pacifists will feel it more imperative than ever that they should press ahead unceasingly with the task (which should be made easier by its obviousness) of bringing home to an increasing number of people the absolute necessity for the renunciation of war as the first necessity for the defence of democracy and the assurance of peace.

Humphrey S. Moore

National Service

More Answers From 1916 C.O.'s

LAST week we showed how Walter Ayles and A. Fenner Brockway met the challenge of "National Service" during the last war. Below we give some more representative answers to the following questions, asked by the Tribunals:

- (a) Assuming that your conscientious objections were established, would you be willing to undertake some form of national service (other than your present work) at this time of national need?
- (b) What particular kinds of national service would you be willing to undertake? (state all the different kinds.)
- (c) Have you, since the war broke out, been engaged in any form of philanthropic or other work for the good of the community? If so, give particulars.
- (d) What sacrifice are you prepared to make to show your willingness, without violating your conscience, to help your country at the present time?
- (a) If you are not willing to undertake any kind of work of national importance as a condition of being exempted from military service, state precisely your reasons; and also
- (b) How you reconcile your enjoying the privileges of British citizenship with this refusal.

A final selection of answers will appear next week.

J. H. Hudson replied:

- (a) I am unwilling to take any form of alternative service offered to me as a bargain to enable me to get out of taking military service.
- (b) Answered in the preceding question.
- (c) I have given of my best as a teacher in a public school. I have spent all my leisure and sacrificed my health in unceasing efforts to persuade my countrymen to a more reasonable attitude on questions of war and peace. In this I have never rested, and since the beginning of the war I have addressed hundreds of meetings throughout the country on this matter, and organized many movements and propaganda campaigns.

I have been on the Eccles Relief Committee, and have given some little time to visiting the homes of soldiers' and sailors' dependents. I have also given much time and effort in the organization of Trades Councils, and in the discussion and preparation for the conditions which will mark the great economic crisis following the war.

(d) I am willing to continue in the work mentioned in the preceding question.

- (a) I am not prepared to take on or continue what is called work of national importance, merely "as a condition of being exempted." When a man holds such beliefs as mine, he must be prepared to suffer for them until he can get the law of the land and the majority of his fellows to accept the validity of his beliefs.

UPHOLDING LIBERTY

I hold that the law has allowed that my convictions are worthy of complete respect, even in war-time, and I claim the complete exemption the Military Service Acts permit.

The only alternative which my conscience tells me it is my duty to accept is the alternative of the prison, and, if need be, of the atrocities which have been committed upon the conscientious objectors. I am not willing to wriggle out of that alternative by accepting the bargain of "work of national importance."

(b) None of the privileges of British citizenship have been won by war. It was the strong hearts of the past who resisted, even unto death, the growth of the belief in, and practice of, militarism, who have given us such privileges as we possess. It is my duty to continue in my present course in order to hand down at least some of those privileges to the generations to come.

When this war is over, and Germany is rolled in the dust, British citizens will find their privileges have been gradually filched away from them. The memory that I stood, as I conceive it to be my duty to stand, for the privileges which war taketh away, will be, I think, the best contribution that I can make to the rebuilding again of that faith in liberty whose destruction has been the most terrible consequence of this war.

J. H. Hudson was then prospective Labour candidate for Eccles, and a member of the National Committee of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

A. Barratt Brown replied:

- (a) Not as a condition of exemption. I could not conscientiously undertake any service imposed as an alternative to military service. If I did, I should be acquiescing in the latter in fact, it would be like compounding a felony. Therefore, I cannot make any bargain, but must ask for unconditional exemption.

(b) I desire to carry on my present work of training men and women for religious and social service, and also to continue special forms of work in the International Peace Movement, in part religious and in part political.

(c) and (d) To these questions I must respectfully decline the information asked. (c) No self-respecting person would wish to parade such things.

(d) I do not believe there can be any "equality of sacrifice" as between those who are in the trenches and those who, by reason of conscience, age, or sex, are still at home. Moreover, sacrifice, to be worth anything, must mean a free act of devotion for a purpose; quite spontaneous, unforced and unparaded.

- (a) I cannot undertake "work of national importance" as a condition of exemption, because: (a) It would be a bargain and a compromise of conscience, implying acquiescence in military conscription (see answer to (a)). (b) It is imposed as part of the organization of the national resources for war. (c) I feel that I am called to devote myself to my present work, and that it is of supreme national importance.

(b) I do not refuse all the duties asked of me as a citizen. I hope to devote not merely these years of war but the rest of my life to the best interests of my country, through my professional work and also through my leisure time activities. I believe that work for the religious and social welfare of the nation and for better relations between this and other nations is a patriotic obligation of paramount importance.

A. Barratt Brown was then Lecturer at Wood-broke Settlement, Birmingham, and a member of the National Committee of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

PACIFISTS' STUPIDITY

WOODROW WILSON, 1917:

"What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity... I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not... There is but one response possible for us. Force, force without stint or limit, force which shall make right the law of the world..."

A REPLY

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, 1938:

"Resort to force in the Great War failed to bring tranquillity. Victory and defeat were alike sterile. That lesson the world should have learned."

German Pogrom Eases

A slackening of the campaign against the Jews in Germany was noted at the beginning of this week.

Among other things, it was announced that the proposal to compel Jews to wear a symbol indicating their race had been abandoned. It was expected that orders would be given in a few days preventing other German cities from introducing re-

strictions upon Jews such as were ordered by the President of Police in Berlin. It was also pointed out that it was unlikely that the restrictions already imposed in Berlin would be extended.

Jews continue to emigrate, however, and the flow of emigrants to foreign Consulates, particularly the British and American, increases rather than diminishes.

FLYING TO AID OF CZECHS

Bitter Sweet

A SHARE bonus of 40 percent, in addition to a final dividend of 14 percent (making 18½ percent for the year) was announced by Tate and Lyle, Ltd., the sugar combine, recently.

A previous share bonus of 40 percent was distributed by Tate & Lyle in 1934-35. Since then 18½ percent dividend has been paid each year.

The firm controls approximately 57 percent of Britain's total sugar consumption.

★

A dividend of 15 percent on ordinary shares and 79.8 percent on deferred shares (both the same as last year) was announced by Manbre & Garton, makers of brewing sugar, last week.

★

As a result of rioting in the West Indies earlier this year, a Royal Commission is at this moment in the West Indies, inquiring into the conditions of life of the people who help to produce (among other things) ... sugar.

It has already found that conditions in the slum area of Kingston, Jamaica, are "deplorable, disgusting, and depressing."

Airwoman Leaving For Prague On Monday

Mr. LANSBURY LEADS APPEAL FOR CHRISTMAS GIFTS

A SPECTACULAR effort on behalf of the refugees in Czecho-Slovakia will be a flight from Heston to Prague on Monday by Miss Rosemary Rees.

She will take the first donations to the Christmas fund inaugurated last week by a group of prominent pacifists led by George Lansbury, M.P. A letter outlining the aims of the organizers is given below.

Miss Rees is the daughter of the late Mrs. E. M. D. Benjamin and Mr. David Sir John David Rees, formerly M.P. for Spreckley left for Prague on Thursday. They will organize the distribution of the funds and gifts raised in response to the appeal, which is in the following terms:

The coming Christmas will be one of peace for Great Britain. But for thousands of refugees in camps in Czecho-Slovakia there will be no festivities. The position of these unfortunate people approaches desperation. The efforts of the Lord Mayor's Fund and other charities are assuring that they will not actually starve.

We are therefore appealing for donations of such article as fruit, sweets and chocolate, jams, preserves and canned goods of all sorts. Cigarettes, tobacco and pipes, wool and woollen goods, games and toys for the children, small musical instruments, razor blades, and elementary English text books.

It is important that such gifts should be suitable for transport, and that they should contain a maximum of usefulness for their size and weight. They will be distributed in Czecho-Slovakia by our own representative, who will see that they are given in the direction where they are most needed.

All gifts sent to the address below will be gratefully acknowledged.

(Signed) VERA BRITAIN, GEORGE LANSBURY, J. MIDDLETON MURRY, EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE, MAX FLOWMAN, MAURICE ROWNTREE.

The Dick Sheppard Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, W.1.

MINISTER'S GRATITUDE

The committee have received from the Czecho-Slovak Minister in London, M. Jan Masaryk, a message expressing the gratitude of his Government for the efforts being made.

He says they are "deeply touched by the kind thoughts of the committee," and that "such true sympathy is an immense encouragement to those of our countrymen who through no fault of their own have lost their homes."

Wide Support for Peace Conference Petition

WHILE prominent people in all walks of life are still coming forward with support for the National Petition for a New World Peace Conference, plans are being made to secure the support of millions of humble citizens and will ensure that the petition is a truly national one.

Yet another 50,000 petition forms have been sent out, making a total of 350,000—allowing for 7,000,000 signatures.

Among recent additions to the list of prominent supporters of the petition appear the following:

Professor John Hilton; Sir Stafford Cripps; the Marquis of Tavistock; Miss Constance Cummings; Ronald Squire, Herbert Farjeon; Tyrone Guthrie; George Graves and Margaret Rawlings.

Among the petition forms already returned to the National Peace Council (which is organizing the petition, in conjunction with the Peace Pledge Union and other national organizations) was one on which the signatures were simply crosses. It had been completed by members of the South London League of the Blind—and duly witnessed by the person who had collected the signatures.

POSTER PARADES

Leaflets and posters have been specially prepared for use in connexion with the petition campaign and are obtainable from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, S.W.1, or from the headquarters of cooperating organizations.

Special poster parades in connexion with the petition will leave Peace Pledge Union headquarters at 96 Regent Street, W.1, at the following dates and times:

Tuesday, December 20, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m.
Saturday, January 7, 1939, at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m.

Volunteers intending to take part should send their names to the PPU, 96 Regent Street, as soon as possible.

BIRMINGHAM DEMAND

The following resolution was passed unanimously at a conference held in Birmingham on December 3:

This meeting is unable to accept the statement of the Prime Minister that "Peace for our time" has been secured by the Munich Agreement. The all round speed up and increase of armaments destroys confidence and faith in the avowed "peace" policy of the Government.

We demand the cessation of preparations for war, and the immediate convening of an international and economic conference to secure the equitable distribution of essential raw materials, the lack of which is the underlying cause of national antagonism. We

further pledge ourselves to work unitedly for the maximum war resistance.

Addressed by Reginald Reynolds and Mrs. Lennard, the conference was arranged by a joint committee of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Independent Labour Party, Women's International League, Friends' Peace Committee, and the Cooperative Women's Guilds.

Norwegian Support

From EIVIND ERICHSEN

OSLO.

IN a resolution passed almost unanimously at a meeting organized by the Norwegian branch of the War Resisters' International recently the Norwegian Parliament was urged to cooperate with the other northern countries in calling a world conference in Scandinavia. It was suggested that the conference should work for an international order based on the Van Zeeland Report.

In the same resolution the Parliament was asked to impose a tax (about one shil-

NEXT WEEK'S
issue will be a
SPECIAL
CHRISTMAS
NUMBER

ling per head, with some special arrangement for people with small incomes) which should be used to help refugees.

In this connection it should be mentioned that much money has been collected for the refugees in Norway lately. The son of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen is today working strongly for the betterment of the refugees' conditions. He says that the best we can do today for the sake of peace is to settle the refugee problem.

He and most people in Norway believe that the Nobel Committee made a very good choice when it awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1938 to the Nansen Bureau.

The Norwegian Government has also taken steps to help the refugees. Mr. Konstad, the director of the Central Passport Office, has gone to Czechoslovakia and intends to bring some refugees to Norway.

"No Small Achievement"

MR. LLOYD GEORGE has just published a book which defends the Treaty of Versailles.

It is worth recalling, however, that he himself said at the time the treaty was drawn up:

"The truth is that we have got our own way. We have got most of the things we set out to get. . . . The German navy has been handed over, the German mercantile shipping has been handed over, and the German colonies have been given up."

"One of our chief trade competitors has been most seriously crippled, and our Allies are about to become her biggest creditors. That is no small achievement."

The quotation is from Lord Riddell's *Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After, 1918-1923*.

They Did Their Little Bit

The following table of profits made during the war years appears in *America's Sixty Families* (by F. Lundberg. New York. Vanguard Press):

Net profits of Du Pont de Nemours (explosives)—

1914	..	25,199,948 dollars.
1915	..	131,142,015 "
1916	..	318,845,685 "
1917	..	269,842,465 "
1918	..	329,121,608 "

Standard Oil Companies (Rockefeller)—(i) of New York

1914	..	7,735,919 dollars.
1915	..	36,638,495 "
1917	..	30,000,673 "
1918	..	28,642,388 "

(ii) of Indiana

1916	..	6,590,924 dollars.
1917	..	43,808,930 "
1918	..	43,263,877 "

Total war profits of the 32 companies composing the Standard Oil Trust amounted to 450,000,000 dollars.

The United States Steel Corporation (Morgan group)—

1914	..	23,496,768 dollars.
1916	..	271,531,730 "
1917	..	224,219,565 "
1918	..	137,532,377 "

Total dividends distributed during 1915-1919= 355,000,560 dollars.

Dairy Produce Shortage

In Vienna there is a shortage of dairy produce. For some time this condition has been existent in the cities of the Old Reich, but it is only recently that dairies in Vienna have been unable to get supplies.

Not only are eggs scarce and expensive, but grocers are complaining that other foods, particularly meat and fruit, have declined in quality and risen in price.

PEACE

and her Victories

Peace and the innate brotherhood of man gave us the Co-operative movement. The provision of this link between the Idea and the World (and the means of changing it to a happier condition) is Peace's greatest victory.

IT was the realisation that victories must be secured on sound foundations which first taught the founders of modern co-operation that consumers' co-operation has need of a manufacturing as well as a distributing end. So came about the Co-operative Wholesale Society. Today the C.W.S. through local co-operative societies is manufacturing and wholesaling goods to meet the needs of Britain's eight million co-operators. Are you among them? You should be.

Announcement of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd.

The Pacifist Bookshelf

AN ANTHOLOGY OF PEACE AND WAR

All in a Maze. An Anthology. Edited by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. Collins. 6s.
Reviewed by Andrew Stewart

ANTHOLOGIES are notoriously irritating compilations. For every delight of selection they provide several disappointments of omission. They represent essentially the taste of the editor—and not all have the discrimination of a Palgrave—and only accidentally the taste of the reader.

Yet they go on being published, and they go on being best sellers. I applaud the practice, because the more anthologies there are the fewer will become the sum total of those significant omissions. It is some consolation to know that at least somewhere in the gradually extending row of miscellanea one can find that elusive fragment of prose or verse that is the very essence of an anthology.

All in a Maze satisfies very much more than the average work of its kind. Its purpose, writes Rose Macaulay, part of whose assistance to the editor was the provision of a first-class preface is:

"to illustrate by selected extracts the continual clash between man's sense of the horror, the folly, and the barbarous waste of this insistent doom, and the recurrent fits of madness in which he plunges into it with noble, savage, and often pious cries; between his impassioned praises of peace and his angry kickings of the gentle goddess downstairs; between, in fact, man's civility and his barbarity."

Magnificently is it done, in a survey which begins with Aeschylus (c. 480 B.C.) and ends with Munich. It would seem, indeed, "as if there had been nothing said in these our times, that was not said in the times before us."

Listen to Seneca (c. A.D. 63):

"We are mad, not only individually, but nationally. We check manslaughter and isolated murders, but what of war and the much-vaunted crime of slaughtering a whole people? . . . Deeds that would be punished by us by loss of life when committed in secret, are praised by us because uniformed generals have carried them out. Man, naturally the gentlest class of beings, is not ashamed to revel in the blood of others, to wage war, and to entrust the waging of war to his sons, when even dumb beasts and wild beasts keep the peace with one another."

Hear the old, old problem ("What would you do . . .?") stated by Martin Luther (1569):

A Christian carrieth two kinds of persons, namely a believing or a spiritual person, the other a civil or temporal person. The believing or spiritual person ought to suffer and endure all things; he neither eateth nor drinketh; he begetteth no children, nor hath share and part in and about such doings and actions. But the temporal and civil person is subject to temporal rights and laws and is tied to obedience; he must maintain and defend himself and his according as the laws and rights do command. Now if in my presence and sight a wicked wretch should presume to force my wife or maid, as then truly I would lay aside the spiritual person and would make use of the temporal; I would slay him in the act or call for help.

And learn that "The Great Illusion" was exposed three hundred years before Sir Norman Angell:

"As for the imaginary profit grown by the many rich spoils at sea and attempts in Spain, it may be well cast up by two examples of our best fortunes. The journey of Calais defrayed not the charge to her Majesty by £64,000. And our times of most advantage by prizes between anno 30 and 34 of the Queen, wherein we received but £64,044 defrayed not the charge of the Navy, arising in the same years to £275,761. As to the greatest loss, expense of Christian blood, it may well suffice to bemoan with Horace . . .

Is there as yet so little Latin blood
Spilt on the fields and floods?
Nor wolves nor lions do we ever find
So cruel to their kind.

—Sir Robert Bruce Cotton,
Wars with Foreign Princes,
c. 1604.

The temptation to fill a page with quotations equally fascinating must be restrained. Suffice to say that every page holds something just as rich.

Publishers are vying strongly for the patronage of the present buying public. I am now oblivious to their sales talk. This is my gift selection.

Peace and Goodwill In Christmas Book Choices

AT first sight it would seem a little unnecessary to mix propaganda with our Christmas presents. But on further consideration why not?

Those who love books are invariably seeking for something: for new truths, new ideas or some magic carpet that transports them temporarily to a friendlier world. And is it not appropriate that some message—direct or indirect—of peace and good will should be found especially in the books we give away at Christmastime?

For anyone actively interested in, and working for the cause of Peace, the *Peace Year Book* published by the National Peace Council at 2s. offers almost everything in the way of statistics and general information about the Peace movement at home and abroad. The volume includes a number of special articles by experts, some very useful maps and, last but not least, four cartoons by Low.

Professor C. E. M. Joad's *Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics* (Gollancz, 6s.) offers quality as well as quantity. This book of 816 pages is a book to read and return to; a complete reference book in itself and therefore an ideal present.

"It is," says Mr. Joad in his introduction, "no easier to systematize the products of human thinking than to classify the facts of physical nature." But since "a pattern must be attempted," Mr. Joad has attempted it and for the ordinary reader I should say he has succeeded extraordinarily well.

He is concerned first with "the nature of the good life for the individual"; secondly, with "the nature of the principles which (a) do govern, and (b) should ideally govern the association of individuals in societies. These two questions were for the Greeks aspects of the same question. . . ." Part I of the Guide is devoted to Greek Thought: Ethics and Politics; Part II to Ethics; Part III to Politics; Part IV to Modern Ethics and Politics; including theories of Fascism, Communism and Democracy.

Mr. Joad is a conscientious and friendly guide; even suggesting that some of the more difficult chapters should be omitted in a first reading.

Mr. A. A. Milne believes that "if those particular men who speak for, or order the voices of, the inarticulate, were to renounce war, then war would no longer be there. . . . When an articulate man feels deeply about anything, he tries, by writing or preaching, to persuade others into his own way of thinking."

In *Peace With Honour* (Methuen 1s. and 5s.), Mr. Milne tries to persuade other people to feel as deeply as he does about war. He succeeds, I think, not only because he puts forward an eloquent and convincing argument, but also because the whole atmosphere of the book is good-humoured and optimistic.

He makes a reader feel that all obstacles to peace can be removed. . . . St. Paul, he reminds us, was not deterred from writing a letter to a few friends at Corinth because he could not foresee the day when it would become the First Epistle to the Corinthians. . . . Altogether a very hopeful and stimulating little book.

Some of us have already met Mr. J. F. Horrabin in his popular News Map series on the television screen. In his 1938 *News Maps* (Gollancz, 3s. 6d.) a completely revised edition of *An Atlas of Current Affairs*, we have the idea made permanent in book form: a collection of maps each with a lucid commentary. I should say that this little book provides about the shortest and easiest route to an understanding of world politics. Incidentally it is listed as a Peace publication.

For those who like a novel there is Storm Jameson's *Here Comes a Candle* (Cassell, 7s. 6d.).

The once proud walls of a 17th-century mansion, situated in Soho, shelter a semi-fashionable night-club and as heterogeneous a collection of tenants as one could wish to find outside a novel by Dickens.

Amid the gay, sad and sometimes sordid stories of a carpenter, a doctor, a preacher, an anarchist and a fire-raiser runs the refreshing love story of Harriet who wanted to write and Randall who nearly offered himself as a pilot in the Chinese war. Randall's smile reminded Rapp of his son who had been killed in the War. "There was no other likeness between the two young men. Perhaps a great many young men smile with the same touching politeness when they talk to older people. It is a propitiatory gesture, an appeal, not for understanding—that is never what the young need—but to be allowed to live."

The children must not be forgotten, and in *The Adventures of the Little Wooden Horse*, by Ursula Moray Williams, (Harrap,

5s.) we have a story that will delight most small boys and girls from the age of five upwards. A more friendly and engaging character than the Little Wooden Horse could hardly be found in all toyland.

For those—grown-ups as well as children—who find a fairy story the most satisfactory of magic carpets, there is Susan Ertz's charming tale *Black, White and Caroline* (Hodder & Stoughton, 5s.). A modern fairy story this, with witches that arrive in aeroplanes instead of on broomsticks.

Anthologies are always welcome, the only trouble being that the great minds of compilers tend to think alike! Here are three which all succeed in being outstanding in their different ways.

In his introduction to *The English Genius* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 8s. 6d.), Mr. Hugh Kingsmill suggests that it is as absurd to praise a nation collectively as to indict it collectively. But as Dr. W. R. Inge points out in his opening essay on Religion, there are a few qualities which seem to persist as really characteristic of our people. Over these he is, as usual, a just and interesting critic. . . . Following this we have an essay on English verse by Hilaire Belloc; others on Humour, Public Life, Monarchy, Climate and Character, and Rose Macaulay at her best on Moral Indignation.

Lord Ponsonby's *The Little Torch* (Routledge, 10s. 6d.), offers us extracts from the diaries of the lowly and the great. These quotations are arranged for every day of the year and are from the wise and witty pens of a lively host from the past, including actors and ambassadors, parsons and undertakers.

Good poetry always has a soothing influence on those who love it. *A Treasury of Unfamiliar Lyrics*, edited by Norman Ault (Gollancz, 7/6), brings with it all the fragrance of harmonious and leisurely days. Most of the lyrics in this collection have been selected from rare and forgotten sources. It is, then, all the more interesting to stumble across more than one of our ancestral poets who hated war. A resigned and utter sadness permeates Sydney Dobell's *Desolate*, a lyric written in England in "Time of War," while in 1782 John Scott wrote:

"I hate that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round, and round, and round:
To me it talks of ravaged plains,
And burning towns, and ruined swains."

To end on a more hopeful note, we can turn the page and find in William Morris's *Prelude to The Earthly Paradise* some promise of the hoped-for miracles which some of us must ever associate with Christmas:

"Folk say, a wizard to a northern king
At Christmastide such wondrous things did show,
That through one window men beheld the spring,
And through another saw the summer glow . . ."

Irene Stiles

FROM LEIPSIC TO MUNICH

Peace In Sight? By R. B. Mowat. Arrow-smith, 3s. 6d.

It is doubtful whether anyone could write "a calm and unbiased survey in retrospect," such as this book claims to be, "of events in Europe from the Leipsic incident of July, 1937, down to the Munich Agreement of September, 1938." Nevertheless Mr. Mowat has gathered a great deal of information within handy compass.

In places he goes back much further than July, 1937, to give the necessary background to recent events. Such bias as there is in the book has not been allowed to affect the selection of relevant facts; rather does it show itself occasionally in comment.

There is, for example, the innocent remark that the best plan put forward at the Disarmament Conference was the Italian, "because it made the least demands upon the contracting parties." Again, though the author claims that the World Economic Conference was torpedoed by President Roosevelt's refusal to have anything to do with currency stabilization, it might equally well have been claimed that the root trouble was the refusal of any Great Power to put its own interests anywhere but first.

It is also to be regretted that the Anti-Comintern Pact is accepted purely as its face value, and not shown to have possibilities as an "anti-have"—or, particularly, anti-British Empire—pact.

The reason for the title is not apparent till the end of the book is reached: the final chapter, entitled "Hope," concludes:

"For the first time since the European turmoil became acute with the occupation by the Germans on March 7, 1936, of the demilitarized Rhineland, the Four Powers controlling Central and Western Europe had come to the same council-table."

I fear that peace is not in sight while this Four-Power domination persists.

J. W. C.

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SPEAKING PERSONALLY

By RONALD
DUNCAN

What Do We Mean By "Democracy"?

A MASS literacy has meant mediocrity. Everybody thinks they think. And in doing that, they not only assume but evade a definition. The invention of the printing press did not increase education; it merely spread it. A thin buttering of literacy over the entire island.

Recently I was asked to write a programme for the BBC. I asked them for whom the programme was intended. They replied, "For the average listener, take the middle page of the *News Chronicle* as representative of the average intelligence." As you see, a question of spread, not of intensity.

One of the symptoms of our intellectual bankruptcy is the number of meaningless terms which are emitted in shovelfuls from every speech and all editions. The *News Chronicle*, or that pseudo-intellectual paper *The New Statesman & Nation* both furnish examples of this sort of mental untidiness.

One can go through either of these papers (or practically any other for that matter) and like an absent-minded park keeper easily get a prongful of litter. And by litter I mean the use of undefined terms, loose phrases, clichés, and mere verbiage.

Take an average leading article and every time the word "democracy" occurs, substitute it with the word "hokey." You will find on your second reading that the article has lost little in actual meaning by your alteration.

"We must defend democracy," shout the press. The reply is: first define it.

Half the energy of a writer is now used up in getting any meaning whatsoever into the words. Fascism, as a word, doesn't mean anything. It is a debased coin.

WHEN will war be declared? May as well ask when will peace be declared? Again a question of definition—for my part, I see war and peace as the wool and warp of our blanketing society. But no doubt that is purely a personal matter bordering on prejudice. We cannot tell.

But any who pretend to any intellectual honesty should at least drop some of these words or ring them for validity:

public	private
democracy	fascism
power	weakness
inflation	deflation
security	freedom

One can make one's own list. Words in which only private meanings are conveyed or words whose meaning is so loose and blunt that they convey nothing, but are vacant gestures.

Pacifist literature is not much tighter. That is to say, it's not literature. We talk by opposites but it doesn't really get anywhere. A person pretends he knows what he means by democracy if, in the next breath, you say fascism. It's as though we could see black and white but refuse to admit to the colour grey.

What do we mean by the word "democracy"? The rulers of Sind living in Surbiton? The rule of mediocrity? It takes twenty years to become a musician, yet most advocates of democracy assume that the right to govern makes a governor.

The present system elects representatives who are likely to be amateurs in governing. Do we mean that is democracy? Akbar was a great governor. He was also a dictator.

From those two statements most people are capable of drawing a false conclusion. Those who are anti-dictators immediately question that Akbar was great; those who approve of Akbar falsely conclude that all dictators are great. This is ABC of logic.

THE Oxford English Dictionary defines democracy as the principle in which all the people of a State have equal political rights. That looks admirable on the surface. Admirable if one ignores the present inescapable reality.

That reality is that the vast majority of the population have no political consciousness whatever. They are not interested in politics as an art; they are only interested when politics affect them.

When faced with the above fact, the politically irresponsible reply: "All will be well when we educate them." They then base a system on imaginary conditions: that's a dangerous procedure. If the majority of the people were politically mature, then democracy might function as a workable system; but the "ifs" and "ands" do not alter the present reality.

We all assume today that all people should have equal political rights and those who question it are equivalent to bounders. But I think the matter should be examined with the minimum of prejudice; even if that examination only helps us to clarify our conception of democracy.

We do not assume that all people have equal ability, and yet we confuse the ability to govern with the right to govern. We have a driving test, but with idealistic irresponsibility permit all the voters of Bayswater to have equal political rights.

It is just as dangerous to assume that there

is a ruling class; that assumption is today as removed from actuality as the hypothesis that all will be well when they are educated. Even if the principle that all people in the State should have equal political rights must go unquestioned, then one can examine the method with which those rights are used.

We elect representatives but nobody is really represented. Bakers have no baker in the House of Commons; on the contrary, bakers are given equal political rights to elect Governors of Bengal.

The present House of Commons is a collection of amateurs; amateurs in so far as the art of government goes (a majority does not make a man a governor), and amateurs in so far as

Ronald Duncan is the fourteenth writer under the heading "Speaking Personally."

Previous contributors have included Vera Brittain, Laurence Housman, Lord Ponsonby, and Leonard Barnes.

Ronald Duncan will continue his series next week.

they are not the representative of a specific trade.

PARALLEL to this is the assumption that we have freedom of the press in this country. Mr. T. S. Elliot dealt adequately with this assumption:

"We assume that we have 'freedom' of the press so long as we have violent differences of opinion finding their way into print; so long as a silly official policy on any matter can be attacked by an opposition with a policy still sillier. This is the freedom of two mobs. It is a higher degree of freedom when thoughtful and independent individuals have the oppor-

tunity of addressing each other. If they have no vehicles by which they can express their opinion, then for them the freedom of the press does not exist."

Apparently the laws Moses made were right for the Israelites. Those laws may seem wrong to us; but apparently they were right for the Israelites; and that has a modern parallel.

For at least fifty percent of our blather against one or other of the modern dictators is based on the fact that the laws they give to their people do not suit us. Probably the laws Moses made for the Israelites would not have suited the Egyptians.

(On the other hand, as many false arguments are based on the assumption that the people of one country are fundamentally different from the people of another country.)

Of course, if we were really sincere about setting our house in order or ourselves in order, there just wouldn't be time to talk about his house and their house. I believe Confucius has something to say about this.

I have not said democracy is this or that; I merely think we should get a better idea of it before using the word loosely.

SO much time and energy in the Peace Pledge Union has, as in most movements, been utterly dissipated because of the assumption that all members have equal ability in all things. It has led to the happy indolence of moribund committees.

One way of shirking responsibility is to renounce it. In this respect I recall Gandhi's remarks to me. He told me that at an important meeting of the Civil Disobedience Movement, he himself stood up and proposed that he should be elected the leader. As he explained to me, "I knew I had the responsibility, and to have been modest or let the matter fall into the uncertainty of committees, would have been a misuse of my responsibility."

THE MOTE OR THE BEAM?

I shall appeal, beyond the sense of justice of my own countrymen to a larger body of opinion. I intend to have this pamphlet published in French, so that our wrong-doing may be patent to all the world; so that the French Generals who smarted seven years under the lash of our English indignation when they irregularly condemned Dreyfus may know that we too have officials, military and civil, whose ideas of legality are no higher than were their own; so that the King of the Belgians may know that not only in the Congo is the common protection of law against the violence of soldiers denied to natives; that the Czar may know that the hangings of innocent men in Russia have their counterpart in the judgment of tribunals presided over by English judges.

For the sake of the brotherhood of man with man, I shall not hesitate in this sense to persuade and to warn.

THESE are blunt words and blunt is the name of the man who spoke them: Wilfred Scaven Blunt, a poet and a Tory squire from Sussex. Like Garrison he believed in being "harsh as truth and uncompromising as justice."

I have recalled them because I believe that it is such a man we need in England today.

Righteous indignation is like charity: it covers a multitude of sins. But how seldom does it begin at home! And if *Peace News* courageously turns the searchlight on our own affairs, if it is said that our own crimes in Palestine and elsewhere are worse than Hitler's crimes against the Jews, there is instantly a protest: we are exaggerating or, alternatively, if what we say is true, it would be better to say nothing about it.

The point of view implied requires careful examination. I have every sympathy with the person who says that "atrocity stories" of any kind are best left untold, though it is difficult to see how any state of affairs can be mended if those who are supposed to be responsible (the British electorate, for example) do not know what is happening.

But with the cultivation of hate propaganda against Germany a new issue arises. Since we can do little to stem that propaganda, can we conceal information from the public which demonstrates how ill-equipped we are to criticize?

Those "Eye-Witnesses"

ON the "mote and beam" principle I imagine that most of us will agree with this policy.

The question of exaggeration is much harder to determine, and the chief reason is that "atrocity" stories are very rarely proved or disproved conclusively.

Not long ago an American journalist, a friend of mine who was in this country, received a cable from his newspaper asking for 10,000 words of eye-witness accounts of the Berlin pogroms. These stories had to be collected

during the next five days and all that time the journalist had to be in London.

He set about industriously to acquire the "dope," but there could clearly be no question of careful investigation or verification. As a good press-man he knew that in five days he must deliver his 10,000 dead or alive, so to speak.

Soon after this incident another friend of mine who was indignant with the policy of *Peace News* sent me a cutting from the *News Chronicle*. It was "an eye-witness account of the torture and killing of German Jews" in a German concentration camp. I do not say that it was untrue. I only remembered my

by
**Reginald
Reynolds**

American friend and wondered.

And I saw not the slightest reason to believe this story merely because the *News Chronicle* assured me that it was received "From sources the veracity of which it is impossible to doubt." It is possible to doubt a great deal until one knows what those sources were, and the same applies to most of the stories coming from Germany. It was the same during the War.

This fact does not exonerate the Nazi Government in any way from the general charge of persecution. We know its declared policy and its official decrees. Many of us know individual victims of persecution. We know too that where there is censorship there is always something to hide—I have often said so about India and other British "possessions," and said it to deaf ears.

India and Palestine

WHEN I returned from India in 1930 I had literally hundreds of "eye-witness accounts" detailing appalling atrocities committed under a Labour Government. I found that they were useless—no one would believe them, even when they were made by people of the highest moral standing. One such account, by my friend Verrier Elwin, was refused by the *Manchester Guardian*.

The rest, being mainly by Indians, were considered obvious fabrications for the simple reason that they were denied by British officials. I wonder how many of the German stories would have found their way into the press if an "official" denial had been considered sufficient to destroy their value. And yet these Indian accounts were none of them anonymous, and in many cases I could personally vouch for the character of the writers.

Teachers Want A.R.P. Conscience Clause

The entry of the National Union of Teachers into ARP discussions with the Government and the Association of Education Committees was strongly deprecated by a meeting of the Manchester and District Teachers' Group of the Peace Pledge Union, held recently. In a resolution which was passed unanimously, the NUT Executive was urged to safeguard the position of individual teachers by the inclusion of a conscience clause.

The question of national service was discussed in connexion with the memorandum recently sent out on this subject by the Sponsors of the PPU. It was felt that PPU members should make a firm stand against this further attempt at regimentation of the people for war purposes.

POLITICS BAN

A resolution declaring it to be "undesirable that any teacher or official of the committee should speak at a public political meeting" was carried by Maidstone Education Committee recently.

Mr. J. A. Mansfield, a headmaster who had spoken at a public meeting during the crisis when the Premier was called on to resign, said that as a citizen, teacher, and air raid warden, he considered he had a perfect right to speak on that subject. He was the only member of the committee to vote against the resolution.

Rotarians Interested in P.P.U. Message

The Poole Rotary Club, a member club of the Rotary International Association for Great Britain and Ireland, was recently addressed by Mr. Roy Walker of Peace Pledge Union headquarters. The meeting proved to be the largest that the club had had for many months.

Church Members' Peace Pledge

Over 9,000 people have already joined a campaign for peace within the Church, started by the Rev. John Maillard, who is in charge of the Healing Mission at Milton Abbey, Dorset.

In Palestine today the death penalty is in force for the mere carrying of arms. We read of "suspicious" Arabs shot at sight by British officers. Over a thousand Arabs were recently in concentration camps. People are arrested and imprisoned or deported without trial. Hundreds—perhaps thousands—of houses, the homes of people against whom nothing has been proved, have been blown up.

Collective fines are imposed on villages, and the livestock confiscated until the villagers pay—in plain language, they are starved out. Curfew orders have been imposed, for as long as twenty-one hours a day in one case (Jaffa) with great suffering to those who were left short of food and water as a result.

We read in our papers of the machine-gunning and bombing of Arabs from aeroplanes, of the sick and the old left homeless on the hill-side when their homes had been destroyed, of "hostages" carried on British armoured cars to prevent attack on the road. Martial law, censorship and the rest of the devices of oppression are also in action.

These are all charges which the reader can verify for himself, from newspapers by no means favourable to the Arabs, and but for lack of space I could give the reference in each case. "Extermination" of the "rebels" is the avowed object of the troops, according to the *News Chronicle*.

In view of what I have already written I shall not add those stories which the press has not published. They are typical atrocity stories—quite as bad as anything we have had from Germany—and I repeat that while I cannot vouch for them personally and do not propose to cite them as evidence, our Government like the German Government, is to blame for their existence. In a properly administered country they could not be true: they could not happen.

Right to Criticize

SUMMING up, I consider that what is definitely known about our administration in Palestine is worse than what is definitely known regarding Germany, and in each case there is no cause for self-congratulation.

I do not mind how many Germans read this; it may bear out much that Hitler says, but it does not countenance his imitation of our bad example.

And as I believe in democracy, I shall be glad for German people to know that we still have enough in our own country (though not for export to the colonies!) to be able to protest against our government. If we do not exercise that right we have voluntarily thrown away the last thing that essentially distinguishes "democracy" as we know it from fascism.

It is impossible in Germany to criticize the government, while criticism of foreign governments is often the order of the day. Those who in our own country criticize Germany whilst applying a voluntary censorship to our actions in Palestine and the colonies are justifying Hitler's position.

John Barclay on

CONSCRIPTION

The Group
Secretary's
Weekly
Notes

DURING the War I was made familiar with the army method of getting enough volunteers to do a disagreeable job. Night after night when we were "in reserve," working parties had to be found to carry up rations to the front line.

This was often a dangerous and dirty piece of work. Volunteers were called for and one usually got a third of the men required. The voluntary system was then dropped and the remaining men were obtained by conscription. The whole party then moved off as a "voluntary group."

It seems to me that the National Register will work on the same principle. The cynics say that you cannot hope to run a show successfully on a voluntary basis, they therefore plan a voluntary scheme on a conscription basis so that it can be changed over at a moment's notice. You therefore get "voluntary conscripts."

I believe that the peace movement can obtain as many volunteers as it needs if it will present the case for pacifism as an individual responsibility and not merely as an alternative to the war method. What is needed are millions of peace-makers, each

able and willing to voluntarily accept "conscription," by this I mean that each member of the PPU should place himself under a strict discipline, self-ordained and self-imposed.

A pacifist-conscription retains all the enthusiasm and willingness to suffer for the cause with the added knowledge that his service is bound by an iron rule which cannot be broken without breaking his own conscience.

The ideal of the pacifist is much more constructive than that of the war-monger, and it is rapidly becoming "practical politics." Make it plain that National Service means International Service—that we believe in giving ourselves voluntarily to a "peaceful conscription" and that our words are backed up by our deeds—and we shall inspire a great new peace army, self-recruited, self-disciplined and ready for any adventure.

This is our road, and those who are not with us are against us. 1938 is nearly done but 1939 is eagerly waiting. We want "your money and your lives."

CHRISTMAS SHOW

For those of you who live near London, now is the time to make a call at "96." Christmas cards and diaries, and handiwork by the Basque children, which includes rugs, table mats, boats and pictures, all make a brave show. Also—and this is historically important—it may be your last chance of seeing our old headquarters before we move to our new and more permanent address.

When we moved to Regent Street the earth "trembled" as with some agree! What will happen when pacifism appears in new shape—a building of its own and with a permanency that cannot be doubted. I tremble to think. The war-machine will be faced with a new terror, the nightmare of its own doom.

"Coming events cast their shadows before," and the emerging reality of "Peace on earth, good will toward men" will slowly take shape from shadow to substance. Our work is only beginning, but the inspiration of Dick Sheppard is with us and the memory of his faith that knew no bounds is ours.

Where he led, we must follow come what may. New members, new groups and more and more permeation of the society in which we live will bring the results he visualized.

Under the Oak Tree

A NEW WAY OF HELPING

By D. L. Plowman

MESSRS. HODGSON & Co., of 115 Chancery Lane, have sold by auction a signed and dated copy of a manuscript poem by Katherine Mansfield.

In the Rangitiki Valley (published in the First Edition of her Poems, in 1923) was written in New Zealand in 1909, and appeared for sale in the shape of twenty-two lines of sensitive flowing hand-writing on a sheet of foolscap.

In presenting us with this treasure to be sold on behalf of the children of our Basque House, at Langham, Mr. Middleton Murry pointed out that Katherine Mansfield's MSS are very rare and would probably never come into the auction room, but that this one was to be regarded "as a gift from her to a work that I know she would have wanted to help."

Will our friends please note this as a way in which they can materially help us at Basque House? We have not all valuable MSS that can be converted into food and shelter for refugee children, but many of us have unwanted and eminently saleable "junk" that could be used for this purpose. So will you all set to and ransack bookshelves and attics to see what you too can sell for us?

★

Don't send it to us direct, but if you belong to a go-ahead group and are having a PPU Christmas Jumble-sale, organize a special Basque children's stall; or let your children get up their own "home-sale" for them; or if you have a piece of old jewellery or some books to sell, find out the best agency and negotiate the sale yourself.

This is the children's season. The happiness of men and women twenty years hence depends on the day-to-day use of our imagination now. So that a poem written by a girl on the other side of the world nearly thirty years ago has become an unseen hand to help children over some of the rough places they are encountering here today.

★

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

Majority Against War in Glasgow Debate

From Our Own Correspondent

It is not "the duty of every British citizen to support Great Britain if she should be involved in any future war." At least this view was held by a small majority of those who took part in a debate on the subject.

The debate, which was held in the Whitehall public school, was attended by about 100 people including pupils, former pupils, and members of the staff.

Group News from the Four Corners

REPRESENTATIVES of groups from all parts of North Wales took part in a poster parade held under the auspices of the North Wales Committee at Caernarvon a fortnight ago. Scores of copies of *Peace News* were sold and large quantities of leaflets distributed.

At a public meeting which followed the parade, Canon Stuart Morris had an enthusiastic audience of about 350 people; the other speakers, the Rev. W. J. Rees, of Alltwen, and the Rev. J. W. Jones, of Crickieth, were also highly appreciated. The chairman was Mr. Hywel D. Lewis, of Bangor.

Though only newly-formed, the Caernarvon group efficiently made the local arrangements and showed enterprise in setting up an attractive literature stall. The group already has fifty members; the majority of local ministers are its sponsors.

Peace Shop as "Recruiting Office"

MEMBERS of the Swindon group of the Peace Pledge Union agree that the Peace Shop they organized recently was worth while if only for the experience.

Much prominence was given to the national petition for a world peace conference; the shop was used as a "recruiting office," and many forms were filled in on the spot. The PPU group is combining with the local Peace Council in this effort, and members are now working through their churches, trade unions, guild, &c.

A poster parade was held to advertise the shop and the petition.

Peace Centre for Sheffield

APPLICATION has been made for a suite of two rooms in Charles Street, Sheffield, for use as a Dick Sheppard Centre, reports *The Pacifist*, organ of the Sheffield branch.

Whether these rooms are obtained or not, it is hoped that some definite arrangements will have been made by next month.

The branch is to lose the services of its chairman of committee, the Rev. J. William Dyer, who is leaving on January 3 to take up an appointment at Hucklow. Mr. Dyer has been a whole-hearted peace-worker for many years, having been connected with the No More War Movement as well as the PPU.

Glasgow Lecture

THE second of a series of lectures arranged by the Glasgow region on the third Wednesday of each month will be addressed by W. H. Marwick in the Masonic Hall, 100 West Regent Street, on December 21.

Mr. Marwick will speak on "The Real menace of Fascism." Commencing at 8 p.m., the meeting will include a discussion, and a collection will be taken.

Morecambe's Peace Shop

THE Morecambe group of the Peace Pledge Union recently closed a Peace Shop on the promenade after a most successful run of ten days. A member reports that the Peace Shop "fully justified all our efforts."

During those ten days fourteen new signatures to the peace pledge were obtained, 220 signatures to the National Peace Council petition. £3 worth of literature was sold and nearly ten dozen copies of *Peace News*. Members found a very sympathetic interest among the public to know more about the PPU.

REGULAR meetings have been held by the Worthing group during the past year in the home of one of the members, while the group has also undertaken the organization of a number of public meetings.

It has been proposed that the group should draw up a constitution. For this purpose, and to improve the organization of the group and extend its activities, it has been proposed that an executive committee should be formed, to consist of president, chairman, secretary, treasurer, with power to co-opt other members.

Central H.Q. for Bradford

SUCH substantial progress has been made by the Bradford group that the committee has decided to open a central headquarters.

The official opening will be in January, and from the first of that month the room will be open each evening after 6.30 p.m. Central groups will be organized and it is hoped that the room will be used freely by all signatories.

Tomorrow (December 17) a Christmas social will be held in room 4 of the Mechanics' Institute, commencing at 7 p.m. There will be dancing, games, and the charge of 1s. will include light refreshments. All profits will go to the furnishing fund of the proposed headquarters.

George Lansbury will visit Bradford on January 27, and will speak at the Theatre Royal, Manningham Lane.

Reading and Petition Campaign

AS there is no Peace Council in Reading, a team of the Reading PPU group has undertaken the distribution of the National Peace Council petition.

A letter quoting the petition and signed by the mayor and several leading townspeople is being sent to the local press. This, it is hoped, will pave the way for a house to house canvass which will be arranged by a committee to which other organizations will be asked to send representatives.

Work of the S.E. Region

AT the second meeting of the South-Eastern regional committee held recently, the following groups were represented: Ilford, Plaistow, Forest Gate, Wanstead, Upminster, Barking, and Manor Park.

The business included the passing of these resolutions:

1. That the method of approach toward new members shall be by personal contact.
2. The formation of a panel of indoor speakers and outdoor speakers, under the direction of a speaker-secretary.
3. Agreed an exchange of speakers to speak to different group, but delivering the same address. Working on cyclic movement.
4. That the support of all branches shall be given to poster parades.
5. That a duplicating machine be purchased for the use of the region and a secretary be appointed to take complete charge.

It was agreed to hold the next meeting on January 4, in the Dick Sheppard House, 53 York Road, Ilford.

Good Start for Dick Sheppard Club

THE first annual meeting of the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club took place in the club rooms at the King's Weigh House Church, London, recently, some eighty members being present.

From the discussion that took place following the various reports made it became clear that it was the wish of the members that the club should be a home rather than a lecture hall, providing a centre where all who wished to forward the ideals of Dick Sheppard might get together for dancing, &c., as well as debates.

The club is offering its hospitality for a party of 200 children of the unemployed that some members of the PPU have arranged, and it is also hoping itself to arrange similar gatherings for Jewish and other refugees.

Among meetings the club has arranged are two for next week which are to be addressed by well-known pacifists; one on Wednesday at 7.15 p.m., when Lord Tavistock will speak, one on Thursday at 1.10 p.m., when the speaker will be Canon Morris.

Although the committee elected at the first annual meeting is made up of pacifists, the meeting was most anxious that non-pacifists should join the club and that every effort should be made to bring them right into its fellowship.

The scheme whereby each member is left free to determine the amount of his or her quarterly subscription is proving a great financial success, for members are subscribing considerably more than the half-crown a quarter which was suggested at one time.

The club now has its first two hundred members and is looking for another eight hundred.

Blackheath Dramatic Performance

THE Blackheath group of the Peace Pledge Union will be presenting *The Ascent of F 6*, by W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, in the Blackheath Congregational Church Hall today and tomorrow (December 16 and 17).

The performance will include music specially written for the play by Benjamin Britten, and the ballet specially designed for this production.

Tickets will be 2s. and 1s. 3d., but special arrangements can be made to reserve seats at 1s. 3d. for parties of ten or more if bought before the performance from Miss Joan Surbey, 24 Wricklemarsh Road, London, S.E.3.

Good Results from Glasgow Meeting

J. D. McLEAN and H. A. Barter spoke to a meeting at Kirkintilloch, Glasgow, last Friday, appealing to reason, religious conscience, and common sense.

There was a favourable response, a splendid collection and one new member—all at a net cost to the group of 2s. 3d. The new member went with the intention of joining, having been trying for some time to establish contact.

The Notice Board

Meetings

West Norwood group meets on second and fourth Tuesdays in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall (near tram terminus). Study circle (to study Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*), meets in members' houses in rotation—usually first and third Tuesdays.

Peckham—Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road, every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Poster Parades

Special parades are to be held from headquarters, 96 Regent Street, W.1, on Tuesdays, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m. and continuing until further notice.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Manchester—Volunteers wanted for mass selling on December 23, from 3 p.m. onwards. Meet 41 John Dalton Street.

Bradford—Volunteers wanted every Saturday. Meet outside Brown and Muffs (Tyrell Street entrance) at 2.15 p.m. Names and addresses to J. Ibbson, Dale Garth, Daleside Road, Thornbury, Bradford.

Norwich—Volunteers wanted for mass selling in the Market Place on December 24.

Birmingham—Mass selling on December 17 from 2.45 p.m. to 4 p.m. Start from Carrs Lane Church (Room 8). Send all possible names of volunteers to W. S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Liverpool—Meet in Friends' Institute, Islington, Friday and Saturday at 8 p.m.

Cardiff—Sellers are badly needed. Come and do your bit, not leave it to a few!

West End of London—Mass selling from 6 p.m. to midnight on December 17. All names to PPU, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

Taunton—Volunteers each week. Apply Mrs. K. Bryant, Leycroft Farm, Taunton.

Sheffield—Every Friday between 6.30 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. at corner of Fargate and Leopold Street. Volunteers are asked to notify Geoffrey Pickup, 24 Stanley Road, Sheffield, 8, not later than the previous Monday.

Belfast—Volunteers wanted for Friday evenings. Write Miss I. Brown, 56 Ulster Avenue, Belfast.

Miscellaneous

Newport—Will anyone interested in the PPU get into touch with Mr. Miller, 243 Christchurch Road, Newport?

What do you do with your old copies of Peace News? Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to give a list of names and addresses of people in Germany, Switzerland, France, and England who would welcome them to read. All inquiries should enclose a stamped envelope for reply.

Wanted urgently, books for Peace Library. Can be left at Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road, Bournemouth, any Monday from 7.30 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Bridgend, Glamorgan—Members in this district please communicate with Mr. Glyn Howe, Arosfa, St. Brides Major, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Diary of the Week

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, Dec. 16

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m., The Regent Cafe, Victoria Street; social; tickets 1s. 6d. inclusive (lunch).

LEEDS: 2; 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps; FoR.

Friday & Saturday, Dec. 16 & 17

BLACKHEATH: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall; play: "The Ascent on F6," by W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood; tickets 2s. and 1s. 3d.; PPU.

Saturday, Dec. 17

SUTTON, Surrey: 2.30 p.m., 122 Carshalton Road; official opening of Peace Shop by Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.

EALING GREEN: 7 p.m. Church Hall; social for PPU members and friends; PPU.

Sunday, Dec. 18

NORTHAMPTON: 2.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; Wilfred Wellock on "National Register and National Service: PPU's attitude"; questions and discussion; PPU.

BRISTOL: 3 p.m. Folk House, College Green; pacifist conference on "The Refugee Problem—how Pacifists can Help"; collection for refugee relief work; PPU, FoR, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Methodist Peace Fellowship, and Bristol University Pacifist Group.

DAWLISH: 8 p.m. The Hut; W. B. Curry and Miss E. O. Comber; PPU.

Monday, Dec. 19

ACCRINGTON: 8 p.m. Geneva Club, Market Chambers; Rev. Leslie Artlingstall; FoR.

HIGHGATE: 8 p.m. Archway Central Hall (opposite Highgate tube station); John Barclay on "Pacifism—the only way to world peace"; PPU.

Tuesday, Dec. 20

LONDON, N.W.1: 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Senator J. D. Rheinallt-Jones on "Cooperation or conflict in South Africa?"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

SWANSEA: 7.30 p.m. Llewellyn Hall; film: "Kameradschaft"; tickets (6d.) from Market Peace Stall or at door; PPU.

MANCHESTER: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; Rev. Leslie Artlingstall; FoR.

Wednesday, Dec. 21

GLASGOW: 8 p.m. Masonic Halls, 100 West Regent Street; W. H. Marwick on "The Real Menace of Fascism"; PPU.

Thursday, Dec. 22

LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10 p.m. 13, Paternoster Row, Canon Stuart Morris on "Christmas Hopes"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4: 5.30 p.m. 13, Paternoster Row; "Christmas and Pacifism"; City PPU group.

ABERDEEN: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 98, Crown Street; Study Circle: "Populations and their needs," introduced by Dr. F. L. Hudson; PPU.

Journalists Oppose Threat To Freedom

A conference in Manchester recently, which was attended by 400 delegates representing half a million people, passed a resolution which drew attention to "the grave threat to liberty contained in the recent application of the Official Secrets Act to journalists and others," and called upon the Government to amend the act so that any further misuse would be impossible.

The conference was convened by the Manchester branch of the National Union of Journalists. Commander Fletcher in moving the resolution, said the freedom of the press was an essential part of democracy and went hand in hand with the liberty of the individual.

Freedom, he said, could vanish overnight if it were not guarded and defended, and the powers contained in the act could be turned into a weapon of complete censorship.

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What does  stand for?

2. OBJECTS

It is sometimes said that pacifism is a mere negation. But though it begins with the refusal to take part in war, it cannot and does not end there. For that reason Aldous Huxley wrote the first official pamphlet of the Peace Pledge Union, What are you going to do about it? explaining its aims and basis. The policy of the Peace Pledge Union arises out of the basis of membership, which is the renunciation of the war method.

It is recognized that it is not sufficient merely to say "No" to war. The Peace Pledge Union presses for the immediate calling of a new world conference, at which representatives of all nations shall be invited to sit round the "family" table on terms of absolute equality, in order that their needs and grievances can be discussed. If we are to avoid war we must be prepared to discuss all the causes of possible war in a spirit of understanding and sympathy. Those who "have" must recognize their responsibility towards those who "have not." The PPU repudiates the war method whether used in self-defence, or in support of the League of Nations and collective security or in aggression.

The Peace Pledge Union is, therefore, anxious to include within its membership everyone who is ready to renounce war and live instead for peace.

The headquarters are at 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—
I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.
Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters

THE CASE FOR A NATIONAL COUNCIL

To the Editor of "Peace News"
At the General Meeting of the PPU in London nearly a year ago members agreed to put the movement on a semi-democratic basis by requiring Sponsors to be elected by signatories. This meant little, actually, since the chairman made it quite clear that those who were not so elected would be co-opted afterward. Nevertheless, it was a step in the right direction, for although members have complete confidence in most of the Sponsors, yet it has always proved to be safer for an organization to be shaped by the hands of its members rather than to be autocratically directed from above.

Good work has been done by the PPU, yet I feel that even better work could be done if we organized ourselves in a more efficient manner. As an active PPU worker, I have found that one weakness in our movement is the loose contact between Head Office and the various groups—much energy is being wasted, much misunderstanding is produced, and many tasks remain undone, because we do not know exactly what the Sponsors are thinking or what they individually are aiming at.

Surely it is clear that if a National Council were set up, composed of Sponsors, Head Office staff, and elected representatives of the large PPU groups, then this weakness would be removed.

The Sponsors would work as now, but would meet with the District Representatives and Headquarters' staff, say every two months, to discuss methods, aims, &c. In this way the Sponsors would learn the opinions of the various groups, and when the representatives reported back to the Local Councils we should begin to understand the Sponsors better, by a more personal contact than at present.

I feel that by this method our movement would begin to be a live organization rather than a number of spasmodic reflex actions. Also we should be training members to take up responsibilities when the present Sponsors are prevented from continuing their valuable work, whether by natural causes or by reasons of State.

SYDNEY GEORGE CONBEER.
Vice-chairman, Birmingham PPU Council.
113 Summerfield Crescent,
Birmingham, 16.

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LECTURES

HACKNEY: Lectures every Friday, 8.15, 39, Upper Clapton Road, December 16, "Limitations of Anti-Fascism," Clifford (SPGB), Admission free. Questions, discussion.

MEETINGS, &c.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, is held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

PERSONAL

WOULD SOMEONE OFFER GUARANTEE for father of two Viennese girls working in England and providing maintenance.—Grunwald, 6, Antrim Mansions, N.W.3.

WOULD SOMEONE OFFER GUARANTEE to Viennese Jew actually in Dachau concentration camp. Would go to USA later on.—Grunwald, 32, Blenheim Terrace, N.W.8.

SITUATION

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POST AS SHORTHAND TYPIST or secretary required by Pacifist, in Liverpool. Box 140, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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P.P.U. Headquarters' Christmas Plans

The headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1, will be closed for most purposes from the evening of Thursday, December 22, to the morning of Thursday, December 29.

On Friday, December 23, and Saturday, December 24, they will be open for the sale of Christmas cards and small quantities of literature.

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Where to Buy Your Christmas Gifts

USEFUL Christmas presents are obtainable this year from the headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. Besides books on pacifism there are special PPU diaries, slightly smaller than last year—bound in green with a replica of the PPU badge in gold.

Then there are Christmas cards, three of which are being published, all newly designed for the PPU. One is an attractive card in colour by Audrey Wynne Hatfield, the other two, both in black and white, are by Eric Gill and Arthur Wragg.

The coloured card will be sold at 2d. Orders of two dozen will be sent post free for 3s. (This was mistakenly given as 3s. for one dozen in an advertisement last week.)

The cards by Eric Gill and Arthur Wragg will be sold at 4d. Orders of a dozen will be sent post free for 3s.

Envelopes will be supplied for all cards. The National Council for the PPU in Wales has produced a Christmas card which

is obtainable (2d. each or 8 for 1s.) from Mrs. A. Humphreys, 9 Gloucester Drive, Wrexham, North Wales. A limited number will be available at 96 Regent Street for Welsh members who live in London and can call for them. Orders for more than one or two should be sent to Mrs. Humphreys.

For the children there are *New Valour*, by Antoinette Devonshire (Peace Book Club, 2s.) and *World Without War* (Dent, 2s. 6d.), as well as several by Miss Frieda le Pla, the deaf and blind authoress. Titles of the latter, together with prices, including postage, are: *People with Prickles* (2s. 2d.), *Exploring in Nature's Wonderland* (2s. 9d.), *A Quest and a Mystery* (1s. 8d.), *Francesca's Robber Guest* (2s. 2d.).

A popular present in past years has been *Peace News* itself.

A copy of the Christmas number can be sent with a greeting card (you send the latter to us and we forward it with the copy). Or you can make your friends a present of a quarter's subscription (or longer) to the paper. We will enclose a greeting card with the first issue if you send it to us.

Futility

"Twenty years ago men spoke of war to end war. Twenty years after we can reflect ruefully how remote we are from the goal of our hopes. The realities that face us demand all our energy. They are blunt and grim. The world has plainly not been made safe for democracy. Other systems of government are arriving with authority from a totally different philosophy, and throw out their strident challenge."

—Mr. Eden, speaking in New York, 9.12.38.

The Economics Behind Germany's Claims

(Continued from page 1)

the Scandinavian countries, it is alleged, and is now to be pursued through Finland and South-East Europe."

The question of the return of the former German Colonies, it will be seen, is not an isolated question. It is part of a trade drive to make Germany still more efficient in the struggle inseparable from competitive Capitalism.

We, as anti-war Socialists may not be able to interpret the secret thought of the German rulers, but we can at least understand and interpret the written word of the German industrialists, and their economic advisers. The Colonial question for Dr. Schacht is a straightforward business proposition.

He says quite openly, in effect, that Germany has no source of essential raw materials. Some of these essential raw materials lie in Colonies formerly owned by Germany but now administered and controlled by Britain and France.

In a world where raw materials are produced for profit and not for use, Germany, of course, is free to buy in the open market. Her difficulty, however, is that she must pay in gold or in the currency of the countries which own the raw materials. In order to get this gold or currency she must sell manufactured goods in the open market.

★

The Ottawa agreement, however, prevented her selling in one formerly open market; therefore, she has had to find other markets in the Balkans, Central Europe and elsewhere. In order to get access to these markets, many of them obliged to trade with Britain and France merely to repay the loans from these two countries, she has had to show herself equally mighty in arms with her rivals.

But even an increase in trade in the new markets still finds Germany short of the gold and currency necessary to buy in the markets owning the raw materials only to be found in the African colonies.

It is this very shortage of currency that makes Mr. George Lansbury's proposals for an International Economic Settlement so urgent. In talking of the Colonies we always assume that they are owned by Britain, whereas in reality the soil, the machinery and the mineral deposits under the soil are owned by individuals who have

German colony) quite opposite policies in being, a pro-white policy in Kenya and a pro-native policy in Tanganyika.

A striking realization of this fact is to be found in the Report of the Select Committee on East Africa, which reveals the deep-seated opposition of the natives of Tanganyika (also of Uganda) to their country being in any way linked up with Kenya. As a member of that committee I was forcibly struck by the horror and fear with which these natives regarded any proposal for closer union between their territories and Kenya.

We have lately been told that the natives

put their labour and capital into them.

Germany knows this quite well. She knows that if she assumes ownership and control of the land, minerals and capital of any colony she, herself, will require to pay for every inch of soil and for every £1 of capital so taken over. But if she has not now the gold or currency to buy her yearly supply of raw materials, obviously she has not the gold or currency to compensate the dispossessed settlers.

The obvious solution is for Germany to have trading agreements under which she will be able to exchange an amount of manufactured articles, including gold mining machinery, equivalent in value to the raw materials she requires.

We cannot, of course, expect a ruling class imbued with the ideas that human happiness is only achieved by a competitive struggle for markets in which the workers of all countries must suffer, to adopt any plan so straightforward and direct. All their actions reveal that they, at least, know the world is teeming with wealth, but they still cannot think of any method of sensible distribution except by economic throat-cutting.

Almost alone Mr. George Lansbury for 50 years has been consistently preaching the way out. Had the nations listened there would have been no war in 1914. There was no other way out before 1914, there is still no other way out today. The problem then as now is an economic one.

I will be told, of course, that Germany demands Colonies for that illusory thing—Prestige. My answer is that no two Capitalist countries ever found their prestige compelled them to fight for the Sahara Desert. They only fight for soil rich both above and below the surface.

Church Support for Scout C.O.s?

From a Correspondent

Support by the Church of members of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements who might refuse military work was suggested at a conference on Christian Citizenship held in London recently.

One of the three subjects to be discussed at the conference was "The Church and Peace." The meeting was divided into groups for discussion, one of the groups being formed of members of the Scout and Guide movements.

The group mentioned that the movements were doing good work for peace at jamborees and other international gatherings as well as by encouraging the boys to win badges for world friendship.

The group also stated that it believed that the Church would support officers of the movements in their pacifist convictions and that the movements' headquarters should show toleration toward religious beliefs.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1916

Even be the thing as necessary as you like, be the constitution of this world really so foul and hellish that force must be met by force, yet I should have stood aside, no brutality should have led me into it. Had I stood apart I should have stood on firm, logical ground: where I was truth would have been as it is among my friends now. To defy the whole system, to refuse to be an instrument of it—this I should have done.

—Arthur Graeme West, enlisted 1914, granted a commission 1916, shot at the front by a sniper 1917.

Extracts from Lord Ponsonby's new Christmas book
THE LITTLE TORCH

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George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. (10/6 net)

Colonies Question We Must Face

(continued from page 1)

of Tanganyika are opposed to their being handed back to Germany. I can well believe that to be the case in the circumstances, but in all fairness it should also be stated that they would no less vehemently oppose being handed over to the Government of Kenya. In his evidence before the Select Committee above referred to, Sir Donald Cameron stated that a large number of white folk in East Africa desired to reduce the natives to a condition of servility (Vol. of Evidence, p. 213).

Vast New Dominion

That statement reveals the struggle that is taking place in Africa today. The white populations of East and Central Africa have for many years been pursuing a policy which has for its aim the creation of a vast self-governing Dominion stretching from the Nile to the Limpopo.

Were that dream realized it would involve the domination over considerable millions of natives of some two percent of the population. The temptation to exploit the subject race in such circumstances would be too great to be resisted by anyone less than a saint.

It is a proposition which cannot be tolerated. Yet it is toward that very serious situation that East and Central Africa are drifting.

in Africa a racial conflict of serious dimensions.

The natives of Africa must be rescued from the exploitation of Europeans. We do not say that the white minorities are more wicked than the rest of us, but that so great a temptation to profit by human exploitation ought not to be presented to anyone. As an interim measure, the natives of Africa should be placed under the supervision of an international commission, operating under the aegis of the League of Nations, and in cooperation with a Council composed of representatives of the various territories.

Jews and Africa

One word about the proposal to settle Jews in Africa.

I am loth to pour cold water on this idea, but what I have said about the dangerous situation that has arisen as the result of white settlement in Africa demands that we receive this proposal with caution, lest it but lead the way to new problems in the not distant future.

For remember, too, that what is done in this matter will be done not by the natives themselves, but over their heads. Have we a right thus to trespass further on their rights?

What Beaverbrook's Hirelings Think of His Policy

WHEN choosing quotations from the article on Lord Beaverbrook, which recently appeared in the *American Times*, the *Daily Express* omitted to quote this:—

"Recently Beaverbrook polled the Express staff on the question 'Do you approve of the Express politics?' The answer came back almost unanimously 'No.' The impish Beaver was delighted with his hirelings' impishness."

THE GERMAN COLONIES

Two Views: Return, or Pool?

George Lansbury, M.P.

at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group's convention in Cambridge:

"We none of us have ever proposed that colonies or the territories of the world should be re-shared out, because no one has the right to share them out except the people who are there, and they do not want to give them away."

"No-one will deny that colonies have never been properly administered by any Government—French, British, American, or anyone else."

"The Germans are demanding colonies because of their loss of prestige."

"I am sure, that if Great Britain and France and others who own colonies not self-governed and hold mandates—if they would agree that these should be pooled and administered by a commission responsible to a newly-constituted League of Nations, Germany would be the same as Great Britain and France, except that Great Britain and France and all those who pooled colonies would be rather better, because they had shown they were willing to give up prestige for the sake of the peace and prosperity of the world."

Lord Hailey

in a speech to the English Speaking Union, which was broadcast to America:

"Objections lie in the upheaval which a return of the colonies would make in the lives of the native inhabitants. Whatever else might happen, our training of the native in responsibility for managing his own affairs would, we might be sure, go by the board under German rule. The next danger is that of bringing back to Africa a Power with imperialistic ideas of expansion, a danger of which General Smuts has consistently warned Great Britain."

"Thirdly, there is the serious possibility that the return of the colonies might lead to a break-up of the British Empire."

"We should be clear as to the conditions which would justify our giving the German colonies back. There can be only two. First, the certainty that by returning them we can avoid a war on which our resources at the time will not permit us to enter. Secondly, the assurance that we can by this means, and this means alone, secure an agreement of which we can believe, on solid and substantial grounds, that it will make a radical change in securing peaceful relations in Europe."

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News," Ltd. (registered office, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by Buck Bros. and Harding, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House, Forest Road, London, E.17.

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